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ABSTRACT

A discussion paper on popular adult non-formal education in rural Bolivia, based on four months of 1982 fieldwork, focuses on the nature of popular education and its meaning in a contemporary Bolivian context, program methods and operational strategies employed, outcomes and impacts on peasant participants (many of them Indians), and problems and potentialities arising from efforts at popular education. The paper combines description and analysis, is illustrated with many photographs and drawings, and is designed to encourage debate over the role of adult education in social change in developing and developed countries. A section on conceptual framework defines the main concepts and discusses perspectives on education and development. An historical overview of Bolivian society is provided, as well as discussions of the growth of popular education and the shortcomings of rural formal education. Characteristics, major orientations, and strategies of Bolivian popular education institutions are summarized, followed by a section on methodologies and processes used in the delivery of popular education programs. Case studies of 10 innovative popular education programs are presented. A section on issues in Bolivian popular education discusses consciousness-raising education and social change, and concerns about evaluation and impact assessment. The concluding section covers possibilities in Bolivian popular education and constraints affecting it. (MH)

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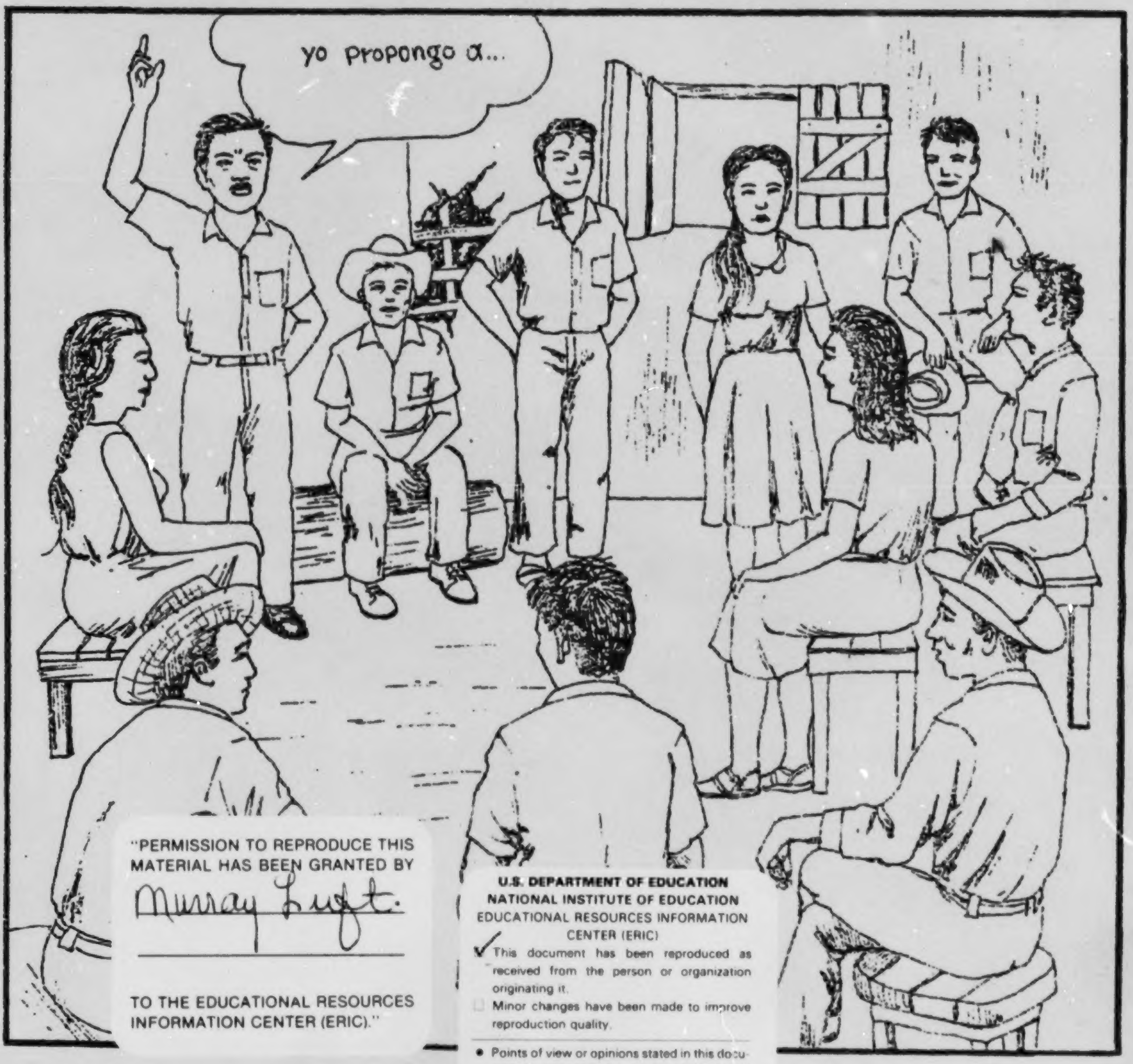
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~by Murray Luft

Toronto-
*1983

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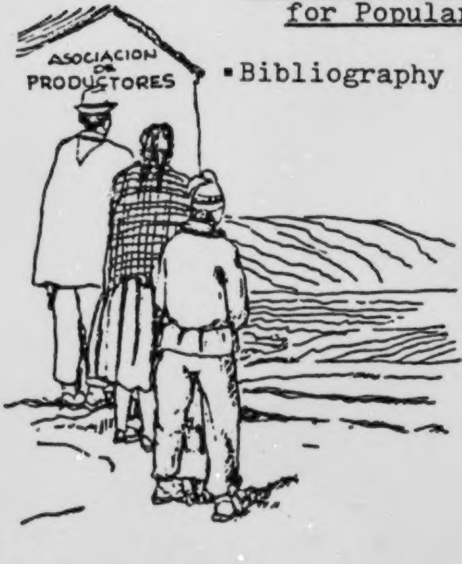

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International Council on Adult Education, (ICAE), Toronto
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This discussion paper is dedicated to Kaz Iwaasa - friend, popular educator, and advocate of the downtrodden - who passed away on Thursday, December 23, 1982.

Notes To Readers:

A number of abbreviations are used throughout the discussion paper. The reader will encounter each of the following abbreviations frequently:

CRE - Consciousness-Raising Education
PEIs - Popular Education Institutions
PEPs - Popular Education Programs
NFE - Non-Formal Education

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Most of the photographs were taken by the writer. Credits are provided for those pictures and illustrations which belong to Bolivian institutions. I wish to thank these groups for the use of all illustrative materials found in the report.

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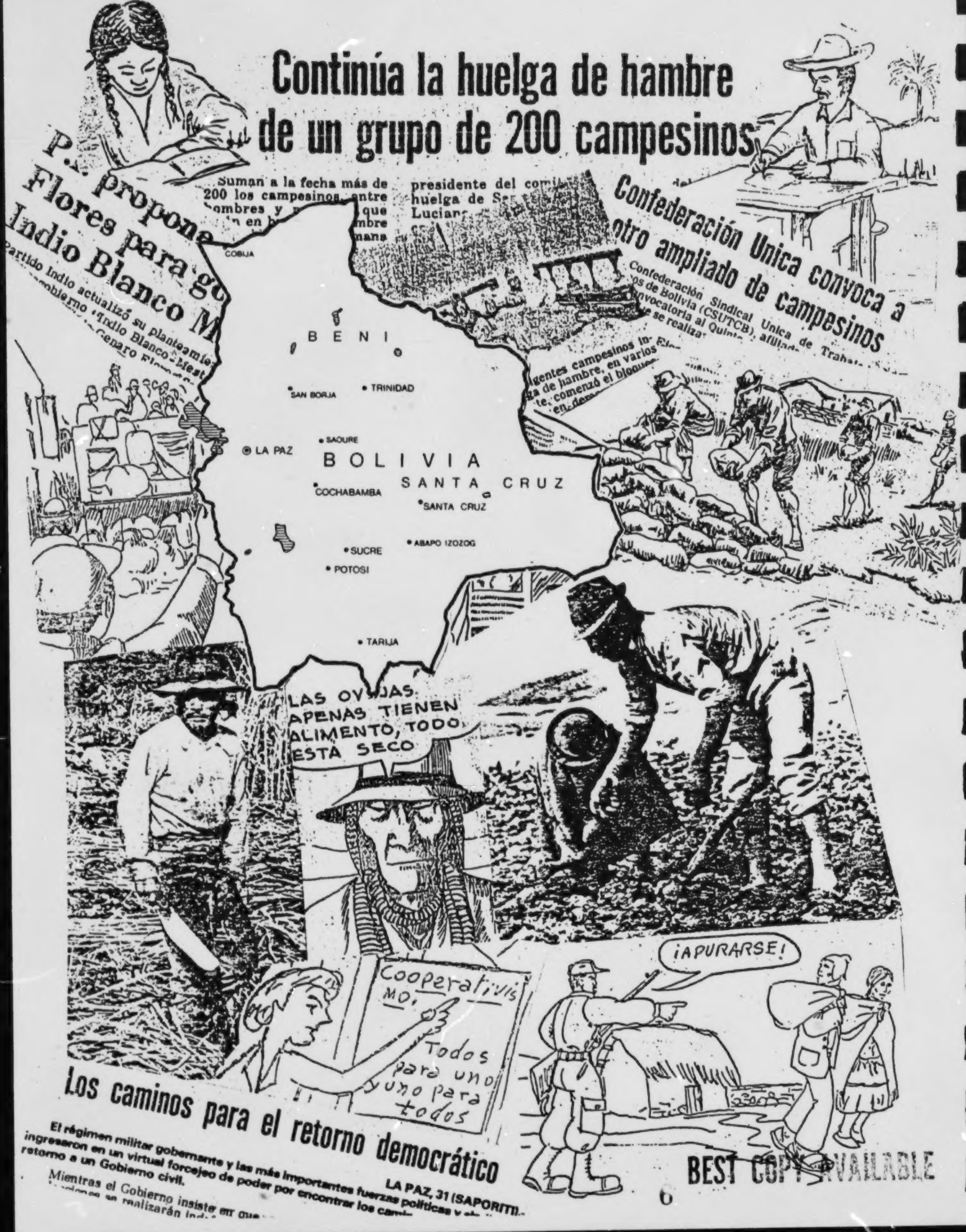

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Cooperativismo. Todos para uno y uno para todos
¡APURARSE!

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I. Introduction:

Study Background & Methodology

"Adult education is anything but a palliative or a placebo to quiet marginal men. It comes to bring not peace, but struggle for liberation, equity and justice, and to provide means to arm the workers and peasants for that struggle. ... It is more than a mild disagreement at a tea party on the governor's lawn."

R. Green

The Proposed Research

This discussion paper is about adult education in Bolivia. It is the result of research into the nature of a specific type of adult, non-formal learning, called "popular education", which is flourishing in all parts of Latin America. The present enquiry focuses on certain key issues regarding the functioning of popular education in rural areas of Bolivia. The report is based primarily on the analysis and interpretation of qualitative field research data collected in Bolivia in 1982. It combines a conceptual overview and theoretical considerations with analytical program description and a critical assessment of popular education work. Included in the scope of the investigation are the following questions:

(1) What is popular education and what does it mean in the contemporary Bolivian context?
(2) What are the program methods and operational strategies employed by popular education institutions?
(3) What are the outcomes and impacts of Bolivian popular education programs on peasant participants?
(4) What are the problems and potentialities arising from efforts at popular education in rural Bolivia?

Background to the Study

I have been interested in the question of how education relates to development since my experience as a teacher and community worker in a peasant village in Eastern Bolivia from 1971-73. At that time I often wondered why my neighbour Nicolas Velasco placed such great importance on the education of his children Santo and Luisa, when it seemed obvious that the formal system of Bolivian schooling had little relevance to the lives of peasants of the area. Santo, like other peasant children, dutifully attended classes in reading and writing, despite the fact that the printed word rarely found its way into his jungle village. Luisa, struggled to learn about an obscure capital city (La Paz), 500 miles away, although she had never been to Montero, a small city only 20 miles away. My questioning of Bolivian formal education increased as I became more aware of an alienating process that involved the pursuit of irrelevant knowledge through rigid, vertical instruction, with the end result being few benefits to rural learners.

My subsequent involvement in Church-sponsored development programs not only increased my critical questioning of rural formal education, but also illuminated some of the possibilities inherent in out-of-school educational alternatives. This non-formal education seemed to offer better prospects for peasants to solve basic problems in the areas of health, agriculture, community development, and family life. Non-formal programs are appropriate for children and adults and appear to be more practical and flexible than the programs provided by the formal system.

A CIDA scholarship in 1981-82 enabled me to more systematically explore the potentialities of non-formal adult education, from the vantage point of academic studies and field work in Bolivia. While enrolled as a graduate student in the Department of Adult Education at OISE in Toronto, I had an opportunity to peruse the literature related to adult education in the Third World and engage many colleagues in discussions related to non-formal education. It is not surprising that the most fascinating ideas about adult popular education were raised not in seventh-floor classrooms, but in after-class conversations in nearby cafes. It was in such confines as "The Duke of York" where Paulo Freire's ponderous writings took on new meaning:

"Non-formal education (NFE) must openly work towards the liberation of the poor", commented Linda, trying to be heard above the laughter from an adjacent table. "If NFE can't contribute to the transformation of an unjust social structure and empower the poor, it's no better than formal schooling".

"But this radical rhetoric is small consolation for my Bolivian peasant friend Nicolas who really only wants a better life for his family", I responded.

"Look", interrupted Roberto, "I don't know your friend Nicolas, but I know hundreds of peasants like him in my own country, and the problem is the same. The whole system is designed to exclude him. NFE won't do any good under such circumstances."

"Right!" agreed Linda, glad to have the support of a knowledgeable Colombian colleague. "From what Murray has told us about Nicolas, the problem is one of land holding. Cotton businesses own the best land, often stealing it from the small guys like Nicolas. What Nicolas needs is an educational program that will help him get organized with others who are losing their land."

"What does non-formal education have to do with landholding?", asked John. "That's a political problem, not an educational one."

"Of course it's a political problem!" added Mary. "That's what adult education is all about. It must defend the poor. In Latin America, popular education is involved in situations of injustice and oppression, helping peasants organize and act."

This discussion gives focus to the present analysis of Bolivian popular education. Determined to better understand what popular education means in Bolivia, I began contacting a number of institutions there to solicit cooperation with my proposed research project. I immediately learned that several popular education groups could no longer freely operate because of the repression from a right-wing military government in power since July 1980. I wondered what Bolivian adult educators could be doing to merit the persecution of the military regime. Could there be a connection between injustice, political change, and popular education?

A Research Methodology

In May, 1982, I arranged to visit Bolivia and investigate first-hand the role of popular education in the present Bolivian context. Much of the description and analysis which follows is based on four months of field work in rural Bolivia. The field research methodology employed was primarily "qualitative", relying largely on interviews, observations, content analysis, and photography. On-site visits for one or two week periods enabled me to gain knowledge of the various institutions sponsoring popular education programs. The field work methods--informal interviews with staff and participants, observations of programs in session, and content analysis of written documents and curriculum material--provided insights into many aspects of different programs. Generally speaking, the research was characterized more by a survey of popular education programs than by an in-depth analysis of a few programs. The data accumulated through this strategy, although "thin" in certain areas, was valuable in analyzing the processes and outcomes of popular education and in understanding how the political-economic context conditions the adult education experience in Bolivia.

The field work experience was challenging and enjoyable. I encountered many difficulties, ranging from being refused access to politically sensitive programs to dealing with incomprehensible Native languages. I began to appreciate the hazards so familiar to anthropologists -- loneliness, altitude and food sickness, and police surveillance. I encountered bitter cold (water freezes in toilet bowls at 4,200 metres), rustic travel (12 hours in the back of a truck with people and potatoes), social conflict (strikes, riots, road blocks), and distrust (what are you really doing here?).

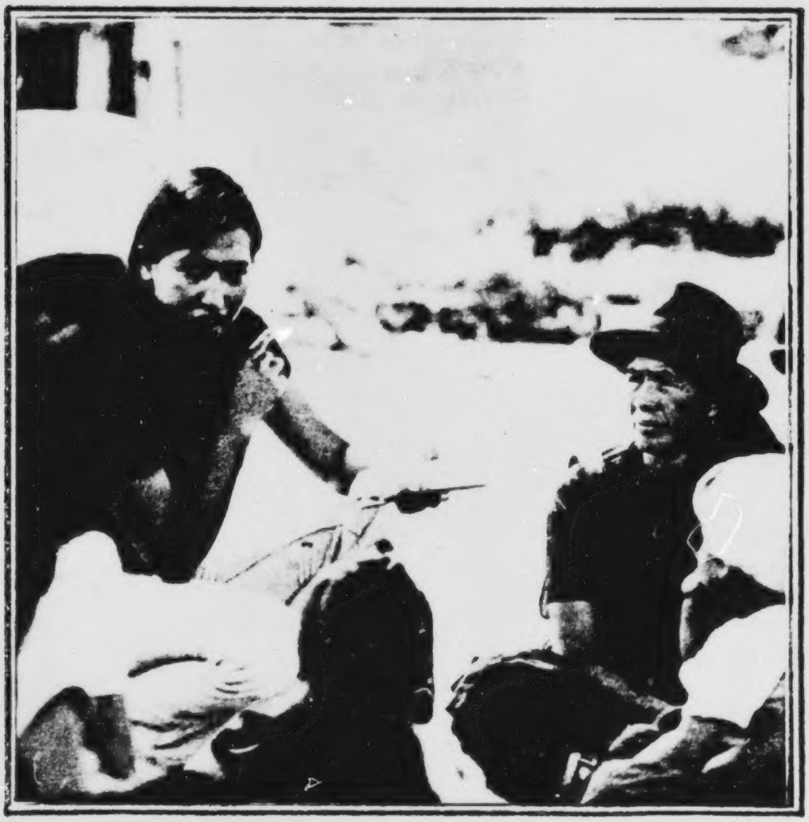
But, these difficulties were far outweighed by the joys of sharing meals in peasant homes, discussing economic problems with village leaders, watching creative learning processes taking place in a one-room school, forming friendships with program staff involved with the poor, and receiving innumerable kindnesses from Bolivians in every area.

The Purpose of the Discussion Paper

I have tried to give the present research report a human face. Although somewhat academic, the paper contains photos, illustrations, and a fairly readable text. I am concerned that the report be both readable and useful to potential readers. If readers gain something of value from the report, then I will have achieved my main goal in writing it. The report combines description and analysis in an effort to render explicable and coherent the flux of raw data related to Bolivian popular education. It blends the objective and subjective. I cannot claim to be impartial or neutral on the issues related to adult education and social change. My own ideas are certainly reflected in the interpretations of the Bolivian experience.

Another major purpose of this report is to encourage debate and discussion over the role of adult education in social change in developing and developed societies. I invite readers to share their comments and reactions, both positive and negative, with me at any time. I plan to return copies of this paper to Bolivian adult educators for their comment and criticism. I trust that at least part of the report's contents will generate some reactions from Bolivian popular educators, as well as from North American readers. I regret not being able to write and reproduce the discussion paper in Spanish, but time, energy, and finances do not allow a translation at this time. Although many people and organizations collaborated with me in this project, I alone take full responsibility for the report's contents. Finally, I do not pretend that the present work is a definitive statement on the topic. I remain open to learn from ideas, information, and evidence brought to my attention by educators, social researchers, and adult learners in the months to come.

> No one educates another person; no one educates him (her)self alone. Men and women can only be educated together with the world as a mediator.
> - Barreiro



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> "The wider goal of educational programs responding to dependency conditions is liberation, both as a process and as an objective. Liberation seeks to enable the individual to overcome domination and vulnerability. It does not necessarily measure outcomes in terms of income or material benefits gained, but instead by the processes which take place. Liberation is concerned with a more equitable distribution of decision-making power leading to control over the change process rather than adjustment to it."
>
> T. La Belle

II. Conceptual Framework

The Main Concepts

This report is primarily concerned with popular education, which is a sub-type within non-formal education (NFE). A good definition of NFE is provided by Philip Coombs:

> NFE is any organized systematic educational activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular sub-groups in the population, adults as well as children. (1974: 12)

The field of NFE is concerned with methods of assessing the needs and interests of adults and youth in developing countries, of communicating with them, motivating them to participate, helping them to acquire skills, adopt new behavioral patterns and engage in activities which increase their productivity and improve their living standard.

In Latin America, educación popular (popular education) encompasses the NFE programs directed towards the marginal majority of people who are virtually excluded from participation in the benefits of their societies. But popular education is more than education targeted at poor adults. Popular education is primarily noted for its political goal of social transformation "from the bottom". Because children are not considered to be primary agents of social change, popular education is generally regarded as an adult venture.

Global education defines the sphere of adult NFE which relates to the upgrading of skill levels. Global education is not really the opposite of popular education. Rather it fails to place the same importance on radical socio-political change goals as popular education. It is more content to engage in functional training and other programs which aim at changing individual behavior and helping people adjust to existing social structures.

In Bolivia, we can find a complete range of non-formal learning programs, for men and women, under state and private sponsorship, in both rural and urban areas. Activities include literacy, cooperative development, technical training, consciousness-raising, nutrition, and midwifery. Confusion surrounding the popular and global education definitions arises when we acknowledge that the line separating activities belonging to one or the other is blurred. Popular educators, although working with many of the same programs, see their primary activity focus as "consciousness-raising education" (CRE). Global educators see their main role in functional training programs and generally disregard CRE aimed at bringing about radical social transformation. Even the methodologies of popular and global educators are not always distinct, although popular educators pioneered the use of dialogic and horizontal learning processes, as well as participatory planning.

In summary, the best way to distinguish popular education from other forms of NFE is to carefully take note of Vio Grossi's explanation of its main function:

> The specific task of popular education is related to the need for the transformation process to be assumed by the people as a 'historic programme' which offers the concrete opportunity for them to become the subject of their own lives. To achieve this, the people need to reach new and better levels of collective action, each time more organized, wider and more critical. One of the most relevant efforts is the education of popular groups that are potentially able to act as conscious agents of the process of social change. (1981: 71)

Perspectives on Education and Development

To more fully understand popular education in the Bolivian context, we must briefly discuss differing theoretical views on the role of education in social development. Much of the difference centres on whether education takes on a conservative socializing function or a radical transformational function. The issue at stake is education's ability to take a lead role in changing the social structure of which it is only a minor institutional component. Rolland Paulston concludes that in most societies, the vast majority of formal and non-formal programs fulfill the conservative function - i.e., they reproduce existing social and economic relations and minimize deviance. However, Paulston suggests that popular education concentrates a potential for significant change generation:

> If one seeks to answer the question 'under what conditions' can educational programs significantly contribute to structural change in conservative/liberal societies, the most fertile area for inquiry will be, we contend, in those collective social class and ethnic efforts using alternative NFE programs. (1975: 594)

With most of the global adult programs geared to neutralizing protest and legitimizing highly inequitable structural situations, the critical function of popular education makes it unique among adult learning alternatives.

Popular educators have been greatly influenced by "conflict theorists" who believe that the problems of developing countries do not result from a lack or a lag of development, but instead, from a "dependency" which most developing societies have on the developed capitalist countries. Conflict theorists maintain that the only way to achieve authentic development is through a political struggle for liberation from unjust dependency relationships. Popular and global adult educators, then, are each forced to make certain choices with regard to program orientations. Martin Carnoy describes the underlying choice as follows:

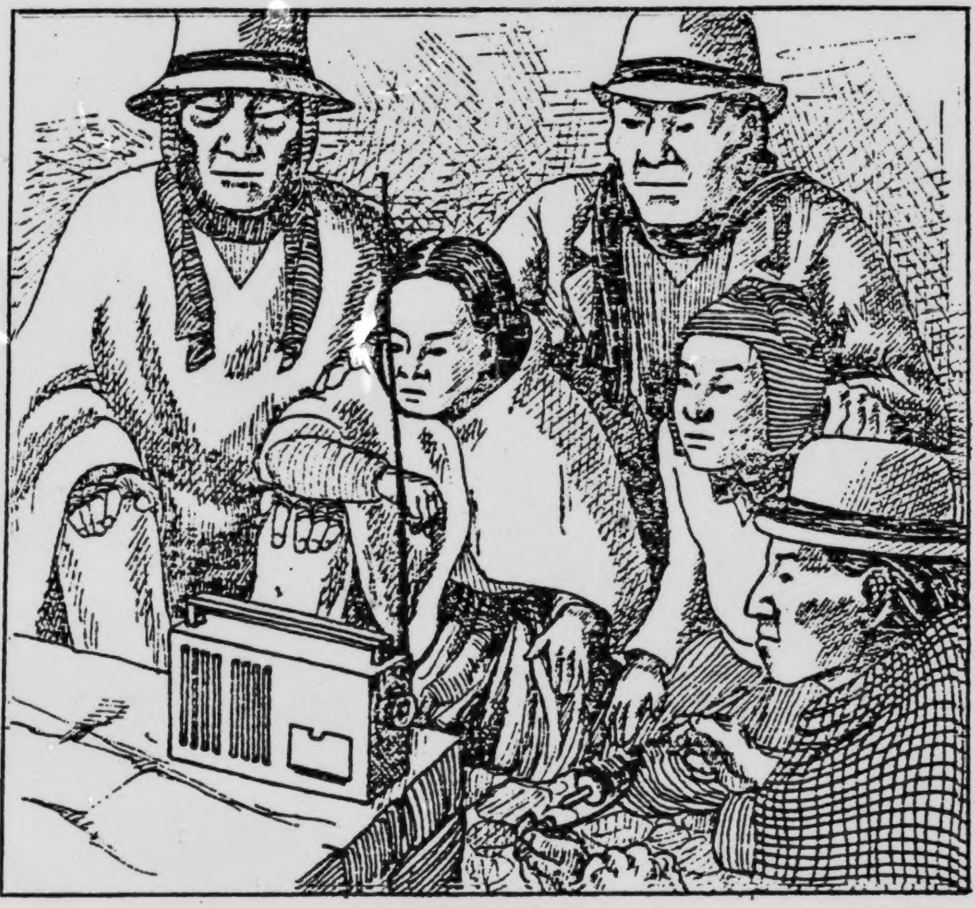
> If we believe that world capitalism makes everyone prosper and that all countries, if they are wise and want their people to be happy, should continue to participate with the developed countries in the world capitalist venture, then we should continue to help that venture by supporting its theories and beliefs. If however, we believe that world capitalism has created structures that prevent the mass of people in the world from achieving the fulfillment of their needs and aspirations, then we must contribute to radical changes in those structures. (1974: 186)

La Belle (1976) has developed an interesting typology which helps readers appreciate the divergent perspectives of popular and global educators. The "deprivation-development" school regards underdevelopment as caused by the marginal person's lack of technology, information, and motivation. An assumption of lack of preparation leads global educators to intervene with programs teaching skills and values in line with modernization and integration goals. The peasant, when educated, will harmoniously adjust to the society and enjoy an improved quality of life in terms of health, income, and decision-making. Global education is geared towards helping individuals increase skills and change attitudes so that they can function better within the existing social structure. Self-improvement offers a few peasants the prospect of increased consumption and gains in socio-economic status. With opportunities for social mobility severely restricted in a country like Bolivia, global educators have increasingly come under attack by popular education advocates who criticize them for reinforcing social control and conformity, rather than generating change processes and confronting an unjust system. Members of the deprivation-development school believe that global/functional adult education will significantly increase the life chances and prospects of the peasantry. This view, however, has proved to be somewhat naive since programs have not succeeded in altering the opportunity structure and challenging social inequalities in Bolivia and elsewhere.

La Belle's "dependency-liberation" school maintains that underdevelopment is primarily caused by an economic system which relegates the poor to a place of dependency and exploitation. A transformation of oppressive social structures is regarded as liberation. The role of popular education is to help poor peasants overcome their domination and vulnerability by confronting the rules and structures of the prevailing system. Popular education efforts are thus channelled towards political leverage and collective action in the economic area. Critical educational processes are encouraged which give rise to mass mobilization. Most popular educators accept the liberationist assumption that only programs which confront the root causes of poverty will serve to alter social relations to the benefit of the poor. Global educators put considerable pressure on popular educators to prove that their radical stance actually helps to "improve" the lives of program participants.

Popular adult education purports to extricate itself from processes which serve to maintain the status quo and entrench the power and privilege of elites. The popular educators believe that their confrontation of the Bolivian power structure and class hierarchy will ultimately benefit the poor and dispossessed. They are adamant that blaming the system is more constructive than blaming the victims of the system, like global educators. If we consider that Bolivia is a closed society where military governments have repressively enforced conformity and strictly limited social change possibilities, it is easy to see that popular education will have limited freedom to carry out critical and transformational work. The elitist ideologies and structural rigidities are more favorable to global educational activity. Nonetheless, the alternative goals and programs adopted by popular educators in Bolivia attract a sizable group of adherents. Vanek notes that popular education is unique in that it

> both challenges the pre-dominant educational and economic myths and sets in motion forces that will transform not only the basic economic and social fabric, but also the individual's awareness of reality. (1974: 19)



Khana

A Friendly Discussion

The deprivation-development and dependency-liberation perspectives, taken by global and popular educators respectively, can be concretized in the following imaginary discussion between two Bolivian educators. This conversation is based on interviews with a number of persons representing both perspectives. Rene is a university educated, 32 year old Bolivian. He works for a large community development agency which receives funds from the Ministry of Education and USAID. His programs are in the area of nutrition, agricultural extension, and functional literacy. He is fluent in Quechua which he uses daily in his work with highland peasants colonizing the plains of Santa Cruz. Jose is a Catholic priest, a Jesuit, who now after 17 years in the country is a Bolivian citizen. He works in the Potosi area where the poverty of the miners and peasants is more extreme than in any other region. Jose's involvement with popular education through a Church radio station has made him respected by the poor and hated by the military commander. Church funds from Belgium help maintain his consciousness-raising programs. Other projects include co-op organizing, women's clubs, Native history, and agricultural training. The discussion proceeds as follows:

Jose: "Conscientization" is the goal of our program. If the peasant can develop a critical awareness of his oppression, he will solve his own problems.

Rene: You spend too much time and energy connecting poverty to socio-political structures. The problem is more a technical one. Give the campesino some better farming methods and he'll eventually raise his living standard.

Jose: You practice what Freire calls the "banking approach"to adult education. You vertically impose what you think the campesino needs and distract him from what he might really need.

Rene: Wait a minute! Our methods are no more vertical or imposing than yours. We choose to teach adults useful attitudes and techniques which will help them progress.

Jose: Sure. But when the campesino doesn't progress, you blame him for failing. You turn the peasant into a little capitalist, more productive, more of a consumer, more modern; but, also more alienated, dependent on the system, and more exploited by it.

Rene: Lots of our students become successful and live better lives. You talk as if political criticism is all that's needed to fill the stomachs of our Quechua citizens. Quit blaming the system! Why don't you work at practically improving the lot of these people, rather than ask them to organize, protest, and end up in jail.

Jose: Only if you help a peasant enhance his or her critical understanding will you ever change the society that dominates and oppresses. Unless you transform the opportunity structure, I can see little virtue in your pragmatic global education. What good is training if there are no jobs for people at the end of it?

Rene: The truth is that many of our adult learners do use the new skills for the betterment of themselves and their families, without having to become radicals.

Jose: Sure, some do, but most do not! This increases the probability that the unlucky majority will end up blaming themselves as lazy, stupid, or inadequate.

Rene: That's unfair! You people also teach agricultural skills and literacy, and I doubt if you're any more successful than we are at increasing campesino incomes. You know how hard it is to teach traditional Aymaras.

Jose: Yes, I know. But we have a clearer idea of why the Aymara doesn't learn easily -- hunger caused by an unjust economic system and apathy conditioned by years of exploitation. That's why we don't place our hopes on functional skills alone. Critical awareness is crucial.

Rene: Some consolation for hungry campesinos! You give them little practical knowledge and frustrate them with a utopian political analysis. You motivate Aymaras and Quechuas to oppose the corrupt government, but you offer them no means to accomplish this, short of foolishly throwing rocks at Meza Garcia's tanks.

Jose: If our students become militant, that is their choice. We're actually much less utopian than you who operate on the premise that a politically neutral program at the village level will have any impact on changing an inequitable society like ours.

Rene: I agree the system's not perfect. But we have the capacity to change individuals so they can cope better with it. We want our students to see that their old values and behaviors are not consistent with economic growth. We help peasants adjust to reality.

Jose: And you could say we help peasants see that reality for what it is and move towards transforming it. Our people come to recognize that the modern sector controls and coerces them and that Uncle Sam manipulates and dominates us. Look at the price of tin today, and the conditions in our mines!

Rene: Spoken like a true Marxist!

Jose: Try Christian! The Gospel calls for liberation and justice. We are working for the creation of a new man in a person-centred, egalitarian society. This will come about when peasants, miners, factory workers, and the unemployed unite and act on their own behalf.

Rene: My grandfather was a campesino; my father a miner. I still consider myself an Indian. I know my people... they are unmotivated, fatalistic, and traditional. When they learn skills and change their attitudes, they will accept innovation and contribute to Bolivia's development.

Jose: But all this means that others will gain at the campesino's expense. Development? You make Indians turn against their own culture and motivate them to join the rest of the casualities of the system in the anillos de miseria (shantytowns) surrounding La Paz.

Rene: I don't like the unequal distribution of wealth and power in Bolivia any more than you do. Our global education programs do not perpetuate poverty. We favour locally directed projects, co-ops, and appropriate technology, just as you do. And don't try to blame urban migration on us!

Jose: You must admit that we are quite different. We call for social justice; you call for conformity and integration. We demand empowerment and change; you are content with skill transfer and service delivery.

Rene: Sure, our goals are different, and some of our methods too. Really, the proof of program effectiveness lies in the benefits to program participants. How do you measure your success?

Jose: We regard any evidence of groups of peasants overcoming their domination and vulnerability as important. More decision-making power, more control over change, and more organizational strength indicate social gains.

Rene: Our success measures are more concrete -- more income, more material benefits, better hygiene. Proof of our effectiveness is in a hundred micro-level improvements.

Jose: We can point to most of the same results as you, but we expect more. Breaking the monopoly of middlemen in the marketing process is a common impact. Such political-economic gains help us close in on a sometimes illusive final goal -- liberation and justice!

Rene: At least you admit that concrete outcomes are legitimate. A failure to reach your transformational goals after years of work has forced you to retreat to more practical goals to maintain credibility with peasants.

Jose: We still remain true to our anti-capitalist philosophy. Compromise, yes! Sell out, no! We continue to fight the temptation of basing our effectiveness on what you call "a hundred micro-level improvements". To prove my point, when was the last time a member of your team went to jail for involvement with Santa Cruz peasants?

Rene: No one to my knowledge has ever gone to jail. Why do you ask?

Jose: In our institution, half the size of yours, four of our staff have been arrested on eleven occasions since Meza took power in 1980. If we weren't effective in our work, why else would the military persecute us?

Rene: Sorry, Jose. I can't accept your rather odd criterion of program success. I would say that keeping our personnel out of jail and working with the people is a better indicator of our effectiveness than gloating on the fact that our staff was unable to continue servicing the campesinos because of arrests for subversion.

Jose: We aren't subversives! As people develop a sense of their power and autonomy, they will naturally take more risks. Because normal channels of participation are closed to peasants, they struggle to increase their say in important matters by acting boldly, even if this means that they too must suffer at the hands of the dictatorship.

Rene: I still question the benefit of all that. For us, the important thing is integrating the poor into the social order, and not cutting them off from it. Few of our learners get involved in politics and few go to jail.

Jose: What you call "integrating the poor" plays into the hands of the oppressors. The result is obvious -- you domesticate a potentially volatile sector of society.

Rene: I disagree! You socialists use popular education as a smoke screen for manipulating the peasants into buying a distorted analysis of underdevelopment. We prefer to remain non-political and help people overcome their marginality by providing them with skills they need.

Jose: Can't you see that there is no such thing as neutral or non-political education? By taking the stance that you do, you are politically complying with the aims of the military and their repressive policies. Consider yourself an accomplice to their reign of terror and institutionalized violence.

Some Room for Dialogue

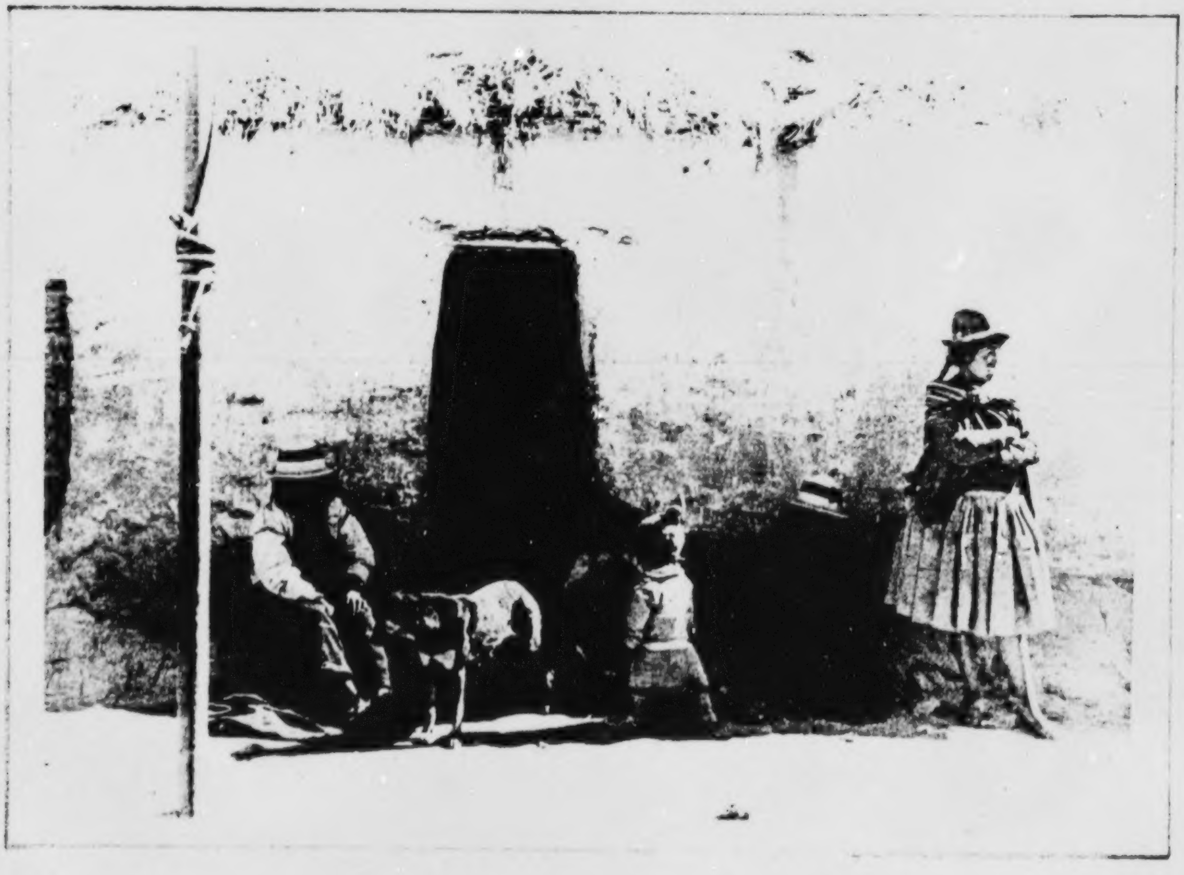
On the basis of the discussion between Rene and Jose, we can now more fully appreciate how global educators from the deprivation-development perspective and popular educators from the dependency-liberation perspective view the role of education in Bolivian society. These views ultimately shape the objectives and strategies for non-formal adult education. It is apparent that there is some overlap between the two schools, enough in fact to maintain dialogue around important issues. Despite disagreements, there may be some room for minimal program collaboration.

It is not always very productive for popular educators to criticize global educators for their attention to improving the lives of the poor in terms of health, income, and decision-making within the given Bolivian society. If the peasant is really benefiting from global education interventions, such criticisms appear unfair and smug. Perhaps it is more defensible for popular educators to attack global educators for co-opting the Freirian methodology of dialogue and using it for lesser ends than those intended by Freire. What concerns popular educators is that a concept as sacred as "conscientization" is now being used as a programatic orientation of developmentalists. On the other side, it bothers global educators that educators from the liberationist school employ many of the same functional programs as they do. Should popular educators criticize global educators for operating programs that are little more that "palliatives to pacify the poor", and then adopt similar programs themselves?

In conclusion, La Belle believes that global educators have been obliged to learn from the liberationists. Criticism by popular educators of "vertical relationships" between teachers and students, for example, have forced global educators to improve their learning processes. La Belle adds:

> The liberationists have reminded, if not taught, developmentalists to attend to the autonomy and popular participation of a target population, to heed the importance of the social, economic, and political structures, and to question the capitalist orientation of many programs which inevitably increase an individual's dependency rather than liberate him from such constraints. (1976: 31)

III. Bolivian History & Society: Towards a Popular Education



"The end of adult education cannot be integration with the school system. The creation of a new popular education totally distinct from traditional education is necessary. In Bolivia, 70% of the population is marginalized from the school system, without hope of incorporation in the system. Hence, we can more easily create a new education that will come from the people themselves."

INDICEP

An Historical Overview

Present-day Bolivian society is the product of a long and turbulent historical process. The complex interplay of relations between indigenous peoples and successive groups of conquerors, colonizers, and foreign economic interests reveals a tragic unfolding of exploitation and domination. In the Colonial Era (1580 - 1825), following the conquest of Alto Peru (present-day Bolivia) by the Spaniards, abuse of the Native peoples was common, justified by the search for precious mineral wealth. Such repressive structures as the encomienda and mita, both forms of forced labor and slavery, were instituted to ensure the domination of the Indian masses. A cultural dualism resulted, with Spanish norms, values, and practices institutionalized as the approved, dominant culture. The traditional beliefs, languages, and life patterns of the rural Indian majority constituted a second culture, which was gradually stripped of its importance and systematically subjugated by the urban Spanish minority.

Despite the war of independence from Spain and the rise of the Republican Era (1825 - 1952), the highly stratified and unjust socio-economic structures remained intact. Abuses of the Native populations continued with encomiendas transformed into haciendas, the uprooting of Indian communities, and the theft of Native communal lands. Quechua and Aymara peoples were exploited as reserve labor for mines, farms, and small industries. The native-born (criollo) class and the emerging mixed-blood (mestizo) class maintained a strong locus of power to the exclusion of rural indigenous peoples. Deprived of their traditional lands and their livelihoods, many Indians were reduced to poverty-stricken inhabitants of a new nation.

The discovery of rich tin deposits at the end of the 19th. Century brought great wealth to a few national entrepreneurs and motivated international capital investors to consider Bolivian involvement. Indians continued to serve as a cheap labor supply for the mines, working under appalling conditions. Profits stayed in the hands of a small national and foreign elite which dominated the politics of Bolivia for half a century. Investments in agriculture lagged and industrial development was neglected.

The Chaco War (1932 - 35) did bring about some important changes, despite Bolivia's loss of territory to Paraguay. For the first time, Indians who were conscripted into the war effort began to develop a sense of worth and national pride, demanding more recognition and minimal participation in the society. The State became more aware of its role in the overall political economy, recognizing the need to control banks, mining activity, and natural resources. In the period of national integration following the Chaco War, there was also the emergence of popular organizations, including unions and progressive political parties. These organizations further increased awareness of the need for structural reform in Bolivia.

The 1952 Revolution, brought about by the MNR (National Revolutionary Movement), contained several popular reforms which favored the rural masses. Large private mines were nationalized, universal voting rights were extended, an agrarian reform enacted, and an educational reform implemented. The Indians were officially renamed campesinos (peasants) in an attempt to raise their status and prestige in the new society. Peasant sindicatos (unions) began to consolidate a rural power base after 1952; many locals were actually armed as popular militia to help defend the MNR regime. But the gains induced by the MNR proved to be limited in the light of the massive problems faced by Bolivian campesinos. With minimal investment in the rural economy, the agrarian reform was doomed to failure. The rural education code (1955) massively expanded educational provisions to the poor, but failed to take account of the indigenous culture and practical learning needs of the impoverished campesino child. Urban education still dominated as the vehicle for social mobility.

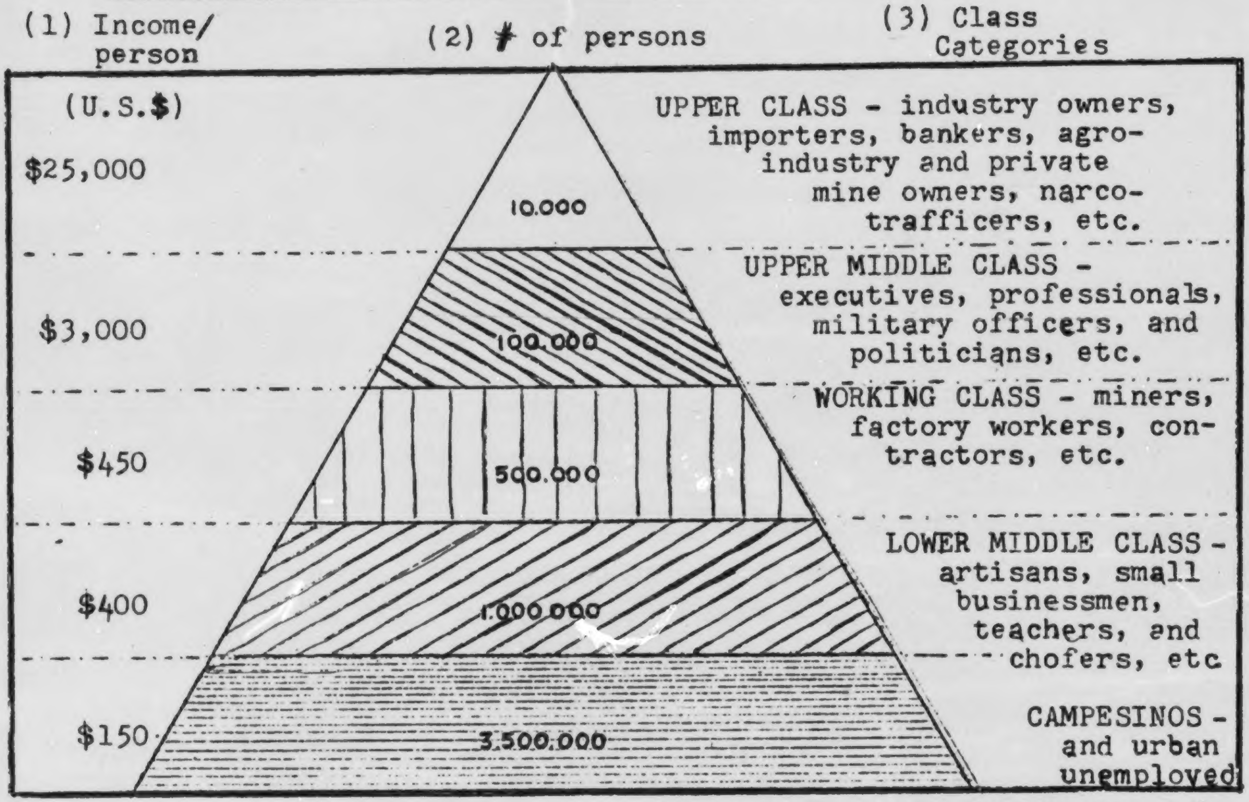
The revolution was eventually neutralized by the urban middle classes who increased their domination over key institutions, including the political bureaucracy, the courts, economic enterprises, and schools. The net benefit of the MNR reforms for the Native peoples was a liberation from serfdom and greater access to farm land. But campesinos still had no assistance in marketing, transportation, and crop production.

The Campesino in Bolivian Society

Under the MNR, peasants began to experience limited acceptance and participation in the society. With modest gains in individual and social rights, campesinos also began to develop a new sense of pride and consciousness. Yet, the government goal of integrating the Indian peasant into the national modern sector remained unattainable. With the demise of the MNR in 1964 and the rise of a series of military governments, the struggle for Native social rights was truncated. Concessions to the Indian populace have been minimal and military repression has tended to crush popular movements in the countryside. Efforts to pacify and co-opt campesino radicalism is evident in "military-campesino pacts". Rural investments have been directed primarily to the capital-intensive, agro-business sector of Santa Cruz, completely bypassing the traditional rural sector. The result has been falling production of basic food crops and growing hunger among the marginal sectors.

The campesino, especially in the Andean region, must rely on traditional, labor-intensive production on marginal plots of land. Between 1975 and 1980, prices for agricultural products rose 100%, while prices for manufactured goods, including agricultural inputs, rose 500%. The economic crisis of 1981 - 82 has further shackled the Bolivian peasantry in a situation of inescapable misery. Given these factors, the small rural producer is often forced to abandon his land and move to the city where he reluctantly joins the ranks of the unemployed. For the pre-capitalist producer, lacking in credit, technical help, and political power, the prognosis is bleak. Per capita income in the rural areas is less than $125 annually. The city offers little consolation to a peasant migrant because of the high levels of unemployment and underemployment which characterize the urban economy. Large numbers of Bolivians, rural and urban, are excluded from basic social services such as health care, education, and housing. Infant mortality is an appalling 166/1000 in rural areas; malnutrition is endemic for 450,000 Bolivian children. With distorted development and a highly unequal distribution of wealth, the Bolivian class structure approximates Figure 1 proportions.

FIGURE 1 - THE SOCIAL PYRAMID IN BOLIVIA (1980)


(1) Income/ person
(U.S.$)
(2) # of persons
(3) Class Categories
$25,000
10.000
UPPER CLASS - industry owners, importers, bankers, agro-industry and private mine owners, narco-trafficers, etc.
$3,000
100.000
UPPER MIDDLE CLASS - executives, professionals, military officers, and politicians, etc.
$450
500.000
WORKING CLASS - miners, factory workers, contractors, etc.
$400
1.000.000
LOWER MIDDLE CLASS - artisans, small businessmen, teachers, and chofers, etc
$150
3.500.000
CAMPESINOS - and urban unemployed

(adapted from Irriarte, 1982: 55)

The campesino sector comprises 60% of the total population of Bolivia. Practically all rural people maintain an Indo-American culture based on traditional languages, values, and practices. The Quechua speakers (35% of Bolivians) and the Aymaras (20%) have little social status. The Spanish language, spoken by less than half the population, is the official language of commerce, education, and politics, thus it carries more prestige in national and international dealings. Similarly, the spiritual values of the pre-Columbian peoples are viewed as inferior by the dominant urban culture. An ongoing process, called choloficación, is taking place, whereby peasants embrace the modernizing Spanish culture and shed their indigenous culture. This process is characterized by the linguistic, behavioral, and physical assimilation of Natives into the dominant urban pattern. It is interesting that the rural school takes on a central role is assimilating Indian children into the national norm.

Rural Education: From Children to Adults

A full critique of Bolivian rural education is not possible in this brief study. Nonetheless, a few points regarding the impact of school on peasant children must be made. The role of the rural school is to teach the Spanish language and hasten the assimilation of Indians into the dominant culture. Many educational authorities, including rural teachers, see the task of schooling as one of "desburrando" or "forcing" the burro* out of the Indian child and turning him (her) away from indigenous ways! Anthropologists have now publicized such disrespectful attempts at imposing a new culture. The loss of healthy traditional values and the imposition of modern values often leaves Native children in a cultural vacuum. As they become adults, they are unable to cope with either social environment adequately. One schooled Aymara youngster is known to have remarked, "I have no value in my world, nor in yours". Even the 4% of rural children who manage to graduate after twelve years of schooling in an alienating system are likely to exit as semi-illiterate, frustrated, culturally deformed, and spiritually castrated, notes Bolivian social critic Mariano Gumucio. Gumucio sums up the tragedy of the rural educational enterprise, noting its negative impact on adults:

> The children who persevere ... are left with the hope of acquiring skills that will permit them to establish themselves in cities and towns. But even this is disheartening, because the skills they learn will help them very little in their future lives, and up to now, there are no opportunities of employment. In sum, rural education only prepares them to remain illiterates in two cultures and precipitates the disintegration of those who remain in the rural communities. (1974: 34)

Another criticism of the rural school is that it is completely divorced from the needs, aspirations, and social struggles of the masses of campesinos. Besides its irrelevant curriculum and rigid pedagogy, the school has been badly underutilized as a catalyst in community development and rural problem-solving. Only infrequently do rural teachers challenge campesino children and adults to change their situations creatively together. Schools are neither sources of useful ideas nor organizing skills that would motivate campesinos toward constructive change.

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*Burro (or donkey) - literally means "stupidity".

The penetration of the rural areas by adult programs has been partially the result of the failure of formal education. In the 1960's, Churches and other private institutions joined with the government in sponsoring literacy campaigns and skill training programs. The expectation of NFE promoters was to wipe poverty and ignorance from the rural areas forever. Only limited successes, however, were evidenced after a decade of sporadic alfabetización (literacy) efforts. During the late 1960's, Bolivia's military regimes began to intervene more directly in the promotion of rural adult education. Part of their motivation was to win over the MNR-committed peasants and emasculate the growing movement of militant agrarian unionism. This hidden political agenda, along with cultural integration goals, may help explain the high number of failures of early literacy and functional basic education work.

In 1970, the populist military government of Ovando Candia launched a national literacy campaign, but the results were disappointing, perhaps owing to the meagre resources invested, the short life of the regime, and the aggressive nature of the "integrationist" strategy in the eyes of Native recipients. It is important to note, however, that the populist Ovando and Torrez governments (1969 - 71) did allow a more open climate which proved favorable to the development of popular adult education in rural areas.

Rural schools impose urban cultural values on children and ignore the popular indigenous culture. They provide insufficient training to enable a campesino to compete for advantageous positions in the Bolivian society.

The Growth of Popular Education

The political and pedagogical ideas of Paulo Freire also began to be applied to adult education in the late 1960's. Freire's critique of vertical and banking approaches to adult learning had an impact on rural literacy programs which treated the average Native student as a depository for alienating knowledge. Well-meaning programs which distracted the peasant from analysis of his (her) social-political oppression were regarded as "domesticating". Ivan Illich's novel idea of "de-schooling" also made a strong impact on many Bolivian educational critics. They recognized that in order to link rural education more closely to local development needs, alternative channels were required to replace the rural formal school which served to encrust the poor at the bottom of the social pyramid. Finally, educators of a neo-Marxist persuasion, condemned the conventional approaches to education which used adult learning as a means of capitalist penetration into the Bolivian hinterland, with the motive of beguiling unsuspecting peasants into a consumer society and market economy. With increased dependency seen as the inevitable result, radical political solutions were advocated which would drastically alter economic power relations both nationally and internationally.

The formation of the institution INDICEP in 1969 marked the first major attempt to develop a radical, alternative pedagogy for the Bolivian campesino. INDICEP stressed that all popular education must spring from the values of the Indian people and must help maintain these values. Their theory of "cultural dynamism" proposed that any solution to the problem of underdevelopment could only be found by way of an education developed in the midst of the campesino world. By 1971, INDICEP was beginning to place popular educators in Aymara communities to learn their culture and innovate practices based on the social and economic realities discovered. The use of native languages was considered essential for any adult learning. Attempts by INDICEP indigenists to employ their cultural dynamism strategy and the psycho-social methods of Freire in the early 1970's were well known in the country. The military coup of Banzer Suarez in 1971 seriously affected the on-going operation of the politically sensitive INDICEP experiments.

At about the same time, the Catholic Church in Latin America was undergoing a tremendous change. Partly due to the Medellin Conference of Bishops in 1968, church leaders, priests and the laity were beginning to express more unequivocally an "option for the poor". Education was regarded as a vehicle to bring about liberation of the oppressed. In the case of Bolivia, this means millions of Indian peasants, miners, the underemployed, and the unemployed. The result was a growing involvement of the Catholic Church in popular education in rural areas. Church-sponsored radio stations were one of the principle methods of reaching masses of impoverished and isolated peasants with consciousness-raising programs, literacy, and training programs. La Belle notes the Church's thrust into popular education as follows:

> Much of the Freire rhetoric of consciousness-raising was adopted by the Bishops as the Church took a position in favor of searching for a new type of Latin American society and a new educational process. The goal was to create individuals who were subjects of their own development, conscious of their dignity, self-determining, and who had a sense of community. (1976: 342-3)

Following the INDICEP model, a number of popular education institutions emerged in the 1970's which had a strong indigenist approach. These groups advocated cultural respect and the development of full ethnic identities. But a number of groups also favored a radical sociological stance, linking the cultural with a broader economic and political framework. "Class-consciousness" became a recurrent theme linking campesinos with their working-class compañeros (companions) in factories and mines. As the political change agendas became integrated with cultural-respect goals, Freire's idea of concientización became a watchword for popular educators. This term defines the political-educational process in which the oppressed begin to confront their oppressors by developing social awareness and taking action on their own behalf. Much of the recent popular education experience is characterized by a strong anti-structure bias and social movement identity.

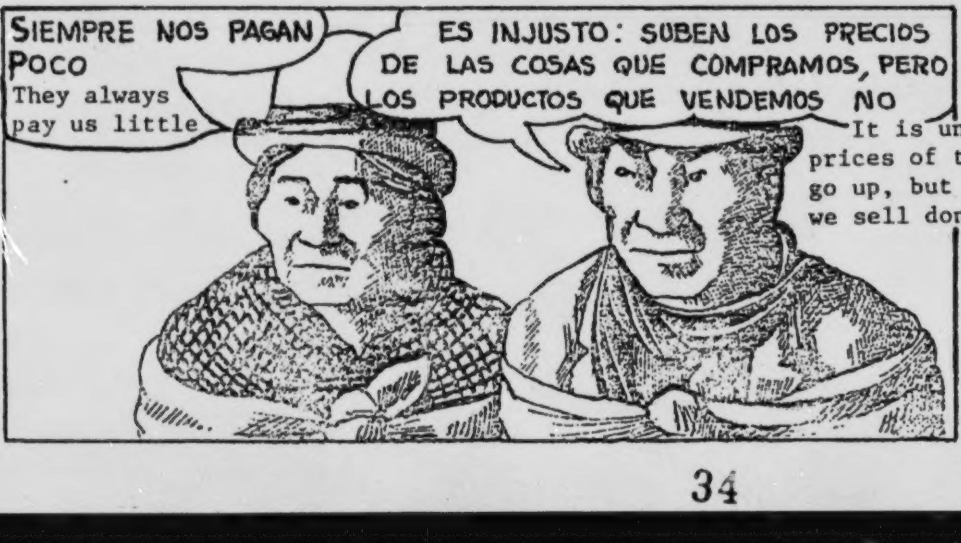
In his studies on NFE, R. Paulston uses the expression "movement-oriented NFE" to describe those popular education programs which have a quasi-revolutionary identity, take an anti-structure stance, and function under constraints of intolerance and repression. The ethnic (indigenous) and social class (rural proletariat) characteristics of Bolivian peasants help to enhance the movement aspects of popular education. Common Indian identity and a desire to overcome exploitative structures give rise to programs which train agrarian leaders and build action platforms. The sponsoring institutions provide a supportive setting for the rural poor to articulate class-based strategies for social change. Popular education is designed to build self-esteem and ethnic pride and link geographically and sometimes culturally diffuse pockets of resistence into collective social action networks.

The teaching and learning which takes place within popular education programs is an integral part of a shared vision and struggle for altered social relations. Such alternative educational programs offer deprived groups of Bolivian peasants an environment in which to compete for power with dominant sectors. The occurrence of movement-oriented popular education in rural Bolivia corresponds to the conditions outlined by Paulston and Leroy:

> (1) emerging class elements (i.e. farmers or workers) are contesting what they viewed as oppressive restrictions on their growing aspirations for power and participation; and, (2) relative ethnic homogeneity and corporate traditions of social organization enable dominant social elements to tolerate the creation of lower and lower-middle class movement ideologies and alternative institutions. (1975: 590)

Finally, it appears that Bolivia is a case distinct from Canada and other Western nations with regard to the development of popular education in conjunction with ethnic and social-class movements. Canada, at present, is noticeably lacking in groups which employ popular education processes to reduce dependency and improve their position in relation to privileged sectors of the society. Perhaps some Canadian examples can be seen in the Indian and Inuit organizations which have taken a more conflictive bargaining stance with governments and resource extraction companies, especially in regard to land claims and Northern development issues. Some sociologists point to the Antigonish movement in Nova Scotia and the agrarian socialist and co-operative movements among Prairie farmers in the 1930's as more significant past examples of radical popular education with social change goals. To conclude, the Bolivian experience is different in its attempts at mobilizing masses of "underdog" campesinos to resist acculturation, seek cultural revitalization, and make claims on an insensitive political-economic order through self-controlled educational efforts. Popular education in Bolivia is still not a coherent mass movement and faces numerous problems in affecting meaningful social change among those trapped in the "culture of silence". But it is actively at work, seeking just solutions to the problems aggravated by the coercive social conditions and dependency relations in Bolivia today. As La Belle explains, consciousness-raising education emerges from the social context:

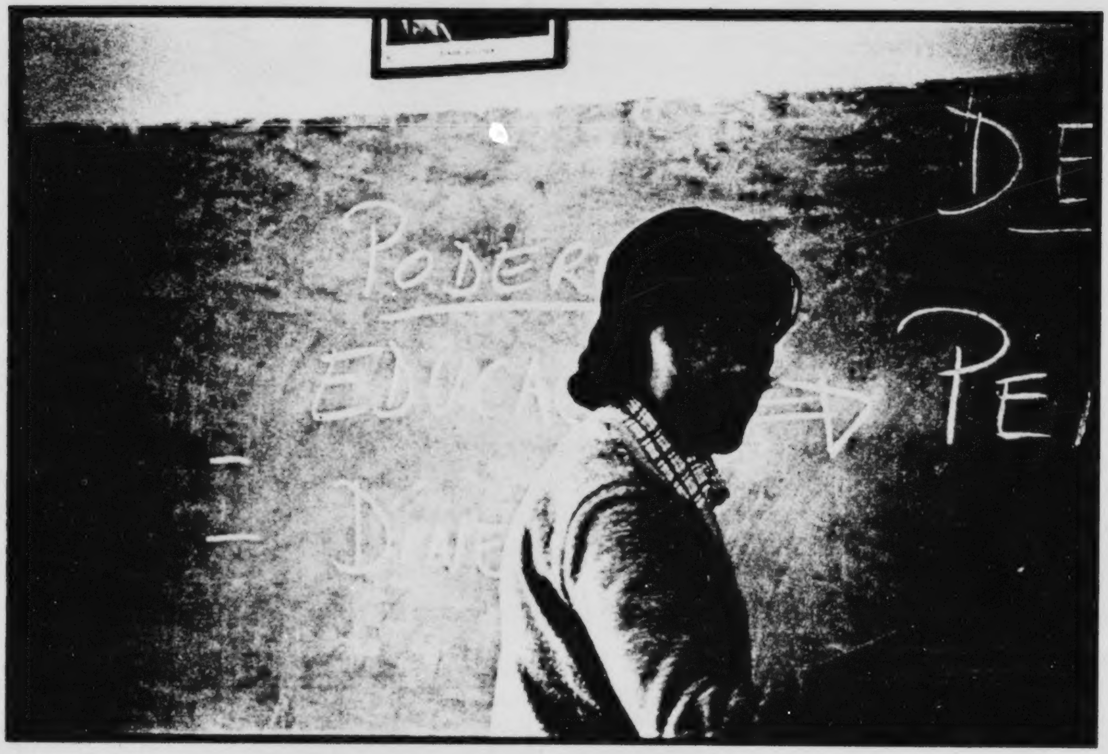
> ...adoption [of Freirian methods] is explained primarily by the search for tools and techniques to match the frustration which Latin Americans feel as a result of both the social structural constraints ... and their dependency on international economic and political forces. It is an investment of sorts in a new socialist future based on collective humanism rather than on individual competition, consumerism, and capitalism. (1976: 26)


SIEMPRE NOS PAGAN POCO
They always pay us little
ES INJUSTO: SUBEN LOS PRECIOS DE LAS COSAS QUE COMPRAMOS, PERO LOS PRODUCTOS QUE VENDEMOS NO

It is unjust: the prices of things we buy go up, but the products we sell don't go up.

Khana

> "Popular sectors find themselves silenced; the object of liberating education must be the recuperation of their word, their expression. This implies the necessity of an internal rearticulation of their word, of a communication between the subjects themselves, and between them and the rest of society."
>
> Garcia Huidobro



IV. Characteristics of POPULAR EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

An Analysis of Popular Education Institutions (PEIs)

This section will describe certain general characteristics of popular education institutions in Bolivia. A total of 20 institutions were surveyed by means of interviews, field observations, and literature analysis. Of this group, more than half were studied extensively. Four of the institutions sampled did not fit the popular education definition and were more readily identifiable as global institutions. Data collected from this latter group were useful in making comparisons with the PEIs sampled. Sampling was based primarily on geographic representation, access to the institutions, and recommendations from Bolivian educators as to what were the most innovative programs to approach.

A. An Overview of PEIs in Bolivia

1. Areas of Operation: All of the PEIs investigated work primarily in the rural areas of Bolivia, supplying programs and services to campesino towns and villages. Practically all the PEIs operate on a regional level, working out of an office in a departamental capital city. The PEIs studied chose their areas of work on the basis of local needs, favoring those zones which appeared to be most under-served. An exception is the La Paz Department, where at least one-fourth of the institutions are concentrated. This situation may be partly due to the superior infra-structure and resources available in the national capital. Practical geographic factors, such as population density, isolation, and accessibility, may also be important to specific village sites chosen for popular education. Invitations from villagers motivate PEIs to respond with need assessment and programming.

2. Size of Institutions: The smallest PEIs work in no more than 20 villages, while the largest relate to over 100. The biggest institutions have branch operations in several departments of the country, though only one is national in scope. The smallest PEIs (30% of the total) employ five to ten persons and the largest (20%) employ over 30 workers. Moderate sized PEIs (50%) employ from ten to twenty-five staff members. The

resources mobilized by PEIs vary considerably. The largest institutions boast print shops, vehicles, conference centres, radio transmitters, experimental farms, and hostels. The smallest groups, on the other hand, have modest facilities, owning only a gestetner, one or two vehicles, and some print materials.

3. Participants and Target Groups: All beneficiary groups consist of poor peasants, but a few PEIs also identify miners, hunting and gathering tribes, and urban barrio dwellers within their target populations. Participants in popular education programs range from 100 to several thousands of people. The largest PEI serves over 20,000 adults with its programs. Projects are generally open to all village residents. After initial motivational programs aimed at a broad base of peasants, specific groups of people gravitate to specific programs on the basis of need and interest. Participants are both men and women, young adults and older adults, although those best served by programs tend to be males between the ages of 16 and 30. This group responds most readily to learning opportunities offered by PEIs because of their former schooling, openness to innovation and change, and greater cultural support for social involvement. Communities perceived to have potential for organizing and action because of collective traditions and co-operative work experiences are often favored by PEIs in their search for new target groups. However, communities without this potential are also considered on the basis of need.

4. Activities: Although PEIs give priority to consciousness-raising programs (CRE), these are always organized in conjunction with technical skill training, literacy classes, leadership development, and economic production projects. CRE usually relies on practical educational components for contextual reference and integration. The diversity of programming is impressive. Village-level programs might range from Bible studies to co-operative development, mothers' clubs to cattle vaccinating clinics, literacy circles to health promoter training, and union organizing to handicraft production. Some PEIs

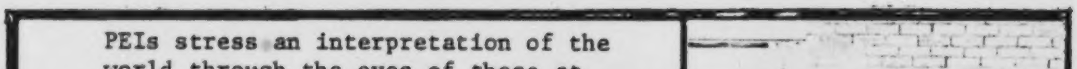
believe that they have more possibility of success when they relate to concrete economic needs of campesinos. Credibility and rapport with new areas is cultivated by providing those activities which best meet local expectations.

5. Sponsorship and Funding: The largest and most stable PEIs have been in existence for more than ten years. Several institutions have five to ten year histories, with some interruptions in operations because of political or financial problems. Some groups evolve, change their names, amalgamate with other groups, or simply disappear. The smallest independent programs seem to be most vulnerable to loss of funding and extinction. All PEIs are under private sponsorship and control, although a few have at one time or another cooperated with government adult education programs. More than three-fifths of the PEIs investigated have strong connections with the Catholic Church and affiliated lay organizations in Bolivia and abroad. Church-related PEIs are believed to have the most secure funding base. They are also afforded some degree of sanctuary from hostile political regimes.

Funding is mainly facilitated through relations with foreign donors in Europe and North America. It is interesting that only one PEI formally states its intention of "breaking its dependency" on foreign funding. Donors often support specific programs because of ideological agreement with PEIs. Donations come from foreign governments, non-governmental organizations, and humanitarian foundations, as well as private donors. Most PEIs with a radical ideological position are wary of taking government funds, suspecting possible co-option. Similarly, a few PEIs fear that dependence on one or two major funders may threaten their independence in decision-making.

6. Personnel of PEIs: The facilitators, extensionists, animateurs, and program developers working for PEIs are both male and female, although predominantly men. They are mainly of urban descent, with middle and working class backgrounds; the majority possess secondary or university education. However, despite social class differences from the campesinos, PEI personnel claim to understand the rural areas and appreciate

peasant culture. About one-third of the personnel interviewed understood or spoke indigenous languages. Their general work pattern is to travel to rural work sites for shorter or longer durations, later returning to residences in the cities. Most workers are salaried employees of the PEIs. The most effective workers seem to be those who demonstrate a "love" for the peasantry and who use participatory educational methods which demonstrate respect for campesino recipients. The more specialized, professional personnel (about one-half the people interviewed) are trained as teachers, social workers, pastors, sociologists, agronomists, and public-health workers. The other half consider themselves as "generalists", with no well-defined identities, or as "support staff". The latter group is comprised of drivers, administrators, radio announcers, and supply clerks or secretaries. Field-level personnel tend to see themselves as community organizers or animateurs, but seldom use the titles of "adult educator" or "teacher". Many part-time para-professionals and promoters living in the rural areas provide valuable leadership to PEIs, but this group will not be considered at this time as staff.



PEIs stress an interpretation of the world through the eyes of those at the bottom of the social structure.

ACLO

B. Major Orientations of PEIs

In this brief section we will discuss four major orientations which Bolivian PEIs reflect in their programs. These orientations encompass most of the 20 PEIs investigated in 1982 and can be summarized as follows:

1. Cultural Dynamism: This first orientation focuses on the promotion of cultural and ethnic pride and the defense of indigenous values. Its proponents have an anti-modernization bias and condemn the submission of the Indian peasant to the urban dominant society. PEIs are most apt to adopt this stance in open, liberal societies where anti-structure and nativistic radicalism can be expressed without fear of repression. In Bolivia, this orientation has been of moderate strength in recent years, enhanced by the large number of Natives in the country, but curtailed by the presence of conservative military governments. Over one-quarter of the PEIs reviewed have a programatic emphasis in the cultural dynamic direction.

2. Economic Justice: This next orientation centres on the goal of attaining economic rights through a combination of technical training, consciousness-raising education (CRE), and economic action. Peasants are encouraged to lay claim to their economic rights as they become aware of their exclusion in an unequal system. At the same time, they learn skills which enable them to make more advances in the market system and compete better within the capitalist power structure. This orientation is most common in open, liberal societies where opportunities for both political organizing and economic development are possible. In the Bolivian context, this space has only existed for brief periods under military regimes. At least one-third of the PEIs have adopted this type of approach in recent years, despite political conservatism and economic stagnation. By increasing technical content and decreasing CRE during periods of repression by reactionary governments, these PEIs can continue to function. Just economic alternatives are presented in the co-operative model which encourages collective production and marketing.

3. Community Development: This orientation favors direct action in concrete need situations at the local level. It stresses group participation, self-help, and communal problem solving. The approach is most common in closed, repressive societies, where popular movements on a wider scale are persecuted and radical protest and action aimed at helping campesinos lay claim to rights and benefits in the society are not possible. The fact that half of the PEIs investigated demonstrated this orientation consistently suggests that it is a necessary strategy under tense political conditions. In open, liberal societies, community development is the major strategy chosen by global education, but in the Bolivian context, it represents perhaps the only option open to the radical PEIs. Micro-level, self-reliance programs focus on the capacity of deprived adults to solve their own problems. PEIs work with peasants in collective problem solving because movement in this direction is not generally regarded as subversive by reactionary political interests. In addition, PEIs see community development as a lesson in popular organizing that can be transferred to future power building and wider social change initiatives.

4. Political Mobilization: This final orientation concentrates on the role of PEIs in consolidating base political organizations to challenge decision-making structures. It has a class-struggle bias and strong political goals. The organization of a power base takes precedence over other cultural, economic, or community development goals, but does not entirely ignore these. The orientation is most often found in open, liberal societies. It is important that leaders come from the base groups and are chosen by their own people, since autonomous organization and power from the bottom are sought. Many Bolivian PEIs state their commitment to this orientation of political redefinition, despite rather unrealistic prospects for its attainment in the present context. Mass mobilization of grassroots political movements is not tolerated in the nation and the consolidation of power seldom exceeds the limits imposed by military regimes.

In conclusion, it would be impossible to place PEIs in one orientation category alone. All PEIs favor one major orientation, while trying to remain flexible, often experimenting with other strategies which increase their impact potential. The ever-changing combination of orientations in PEIs seems to be directly related to the socio-political context within which they operate. With shifts in the political climate, there are corresponding shifts in educational strategies.

C. Strategies Employed by PEIs

Program strategies are derived from the major orientations described above. Although PEIs specialize in some respects, all programs have certain distinctive programmatic characteristics in common. The most important features recognizable in Bolivian PEIs are an adherence to the goal of soial transformation and liberation and a commitment to consciousness-raising education (CRE) as a means of attaining this goal. All PEIs are involved to a greater or lesser extent in programs which can be classified according to four overlapping strategies: educational groundwork, organization building, direct action, and consciousness raising.

1. Educational Groundwork

a. Adult Basic Education - includes all general and functional non-formal education (eg. basic literacy, numeracy, health, nutrition, homemaking, religion, history, etc.).

b. Technical Skill Training - includes courses in agricultural technologies, health care, job-related skill development, etc.

c. Social Skill Development - includes the training of leaders and the formation of participants for co-operatives, unions, and community organizations. Courses focus on human resource development and organizational development.

2. Organization Building

a. Economic - the actual formation of co-operatives (for production, marketing, consumption, housing) and producers' associations.

b. Political - the actual formation or the development of local unions (for day laborers, cotton pickers, etc.), peasant organizations (broad-based federations of colonists, etc.), and civic and regional lobby groups and parties (advocating campesino rights, Native justice, etc.).

c. Social (Community) - the formation of self-help societies, mutual work groups, or community improvement associations for the short term or long term.

d. Cultural - the formation of revitalization groups which will help defend Indian language, customs, and traditional values.

3. Direct Action

a. Economic - the actual production- marketing activity within functioning cooperatives and producers' associations; collective economic activity in agriculture, handicraft production, etc. (Example: action to cut middlemen out of marketing process.)

b. Political - the actual bargaining for better rights; lobbying for just policies and officials; strikes, road blocks, protests, letters of denunciation, petitions, and networking on broader regional issues. (Example: action to remove a corrupt local official or a military government.)

c. Social (Community) - the implementation of community development projects based on self-help and local initiative. (Example: Joint work to build a school or health clinic; common action to improve local water supply and village health.)

d. Cultural - actual efforts towards traditional skill revitalization, implementing Native studies program for the appreciation of history, religion, art, etc. (Example: organize a cultural festival or bi-lingual school.)

4. Consciousness-Raising Education (CRE)

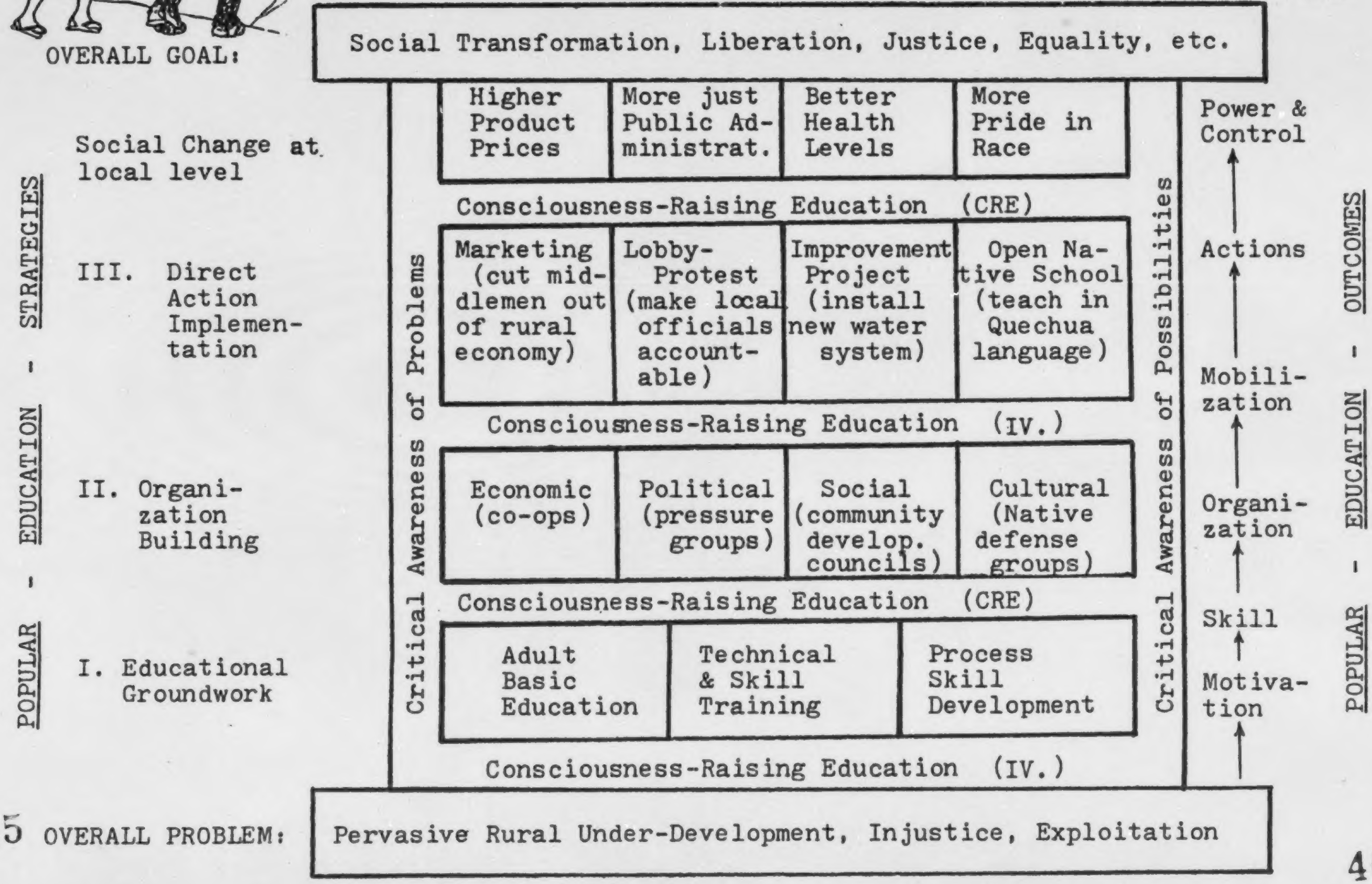
This is an educational strategy with political participation as its desired end. CRE seeks to awaken in adults an awareness and understanding of their historical situation and to create the mechanisms necessary for the transformation of their social condition. Increased participation in decision-making is fostered through vigorous grassroots organizations such as co-operatives, unions, and community action groups. These alternative base organizations are seen as having the potential for developing self-concepts, competencies, and knowledge which in turn facilitate mass participation and political development. The role of CRE is to institutionalize widespread opportunities for effective peasant participation, control and power in the society.

It should be noted that the four major strategies described above, and their components, are not mutually exclusive. There is considerable overlap and a merging of components, with CRE serving as the integrating mechanism for all of the strategies. By stressing such activities as structural analysis, mobilization for action, and the tactical use of popular power, CRE adds a political dimension to the total educational agenda. The CRE process will be discussed in some depth later since it embodies the most important role of popular education. Before turning to this discussion, a model is presented in Figure 2 which summarizes the relationship between the four major strategies just considered.

Aymara peasants listen attentively during workshop on traditional medicine near La Paz.

Figure 2 - Popular Education Strategies in Bolivia

NOS HACE FALTA UN SINDICATO



OVERALL GOAL: Social Transformation, Liberation, Justice, Equality, etc.

POPULAR - EDUCATION - STRATEGIES

Social Change at local level

Higher Product Prices	More just Public Administrat.	Better Health Levels	More Pride in Race

Consciousness-Raising Education (CRE)

III. Direct Action Implementation

Marketing (cut middlemen out of rural economy)	Lobby-Protest (make local officials accountable)	Improvement Project (install new water system)	Open Native School (teach in Quechua language)

Consciousness-Raising Education (IV.)

II. Organization Building

Economic (co-ops)	Political (pressure groups)	Social (community develop. councils)	Cultural (Native defense groups)

Consciousness-Raising Education (CRE)

I. Educational Groundwork

Adult Basic Education	Technical & Skill Training	Process Skill Development

Consciousness-Raising Education (IV.)

Critical Awareness of Problems

Critical Awareness of Possibilities

Motivation → Skill → Organization → Mobilization → Actions → Power & Control

POPULAR - EDUCATION - OUTCOMES

OVERALL PROBLEM: Pervasive Rural Under-Development, Injustice, Exploitation

D. Consciousness-Raising Education (CRE)

CRE begins with the knowledge, concerns, and problems of people. It helps peasants become aware of their rights and obligations and become actors in their own liberation. Freire captures the essence of CRE in his concept "conscientization". Conscientization is a process whereby participants of popular education programs name a problem, analyze it, and act upon it collectively. Each action itself becomes a new stimulus for decoding and analysis which in turn leads to further action and reflection. Sanders describes the process as an awakening of consciousness and a change of mentality involving an accurate, realistic awareness of one's locus in nature and society. CRE implies that peasants will critically analyze causes and consequences, compare situations and possibilities, and take logical action. He adds:

> Even though the stimulus to conscientization derives from interpersonal dialogue in which one discovers the meaning of humanity from encounters with other humans, an almost inevitable consequence is political participation and the formation of interest groups such as community organizations and labor unions. (1968: 12)

Most of the Bolivian PEIs believe that CRE is the key to their programs. They include it in goal statements, curriculum outlines, and training programs for personnel. New staff are trained in problem-posing, group dynamics, and collective learning methodologies appropriate to CRE. With CRE permeating all popular education programs, the "whys" of social change are dealt with, as well as the "how to" aspects. Most PEIs maintain that whenever learners are encouraged to interact, dialogue, and increase their power over the learning situation, their potential for critical awareness and action will be enhanced.

A key question surrounding CRE is not just whether peasants understand the importance of transforming their social world, but whether they are willing to act on their own behalf. Will participants organize and act in a manner which results in obvious benefits to them? With this question in mind, Vio Grossi describes the challenge of CRE as helping peasants to transform themselves from puppets controlled by forces they dimly understand to independent and self-determining individuals and communities. PEIs are agreed that the poor must exercise power at the grassroots through their own organizations if there is ever to be beneficial structural change in Bolivia.

The ways that PEIs approach CRE vary. Some are quite directive and advocate confrontation and pressure group tactics based on the assumption of materialist class interest and conflict. Others advocate community enterprise formation with maximum peasant participation, but are much less directive or dogmatic in their approach. This latter CRE strategy is based on the principle of Christian solidarity and cooperation. All CRE approaches emphasize liberation and call for the creation of new norms, rules, procedures, and policies. As Smith notes:

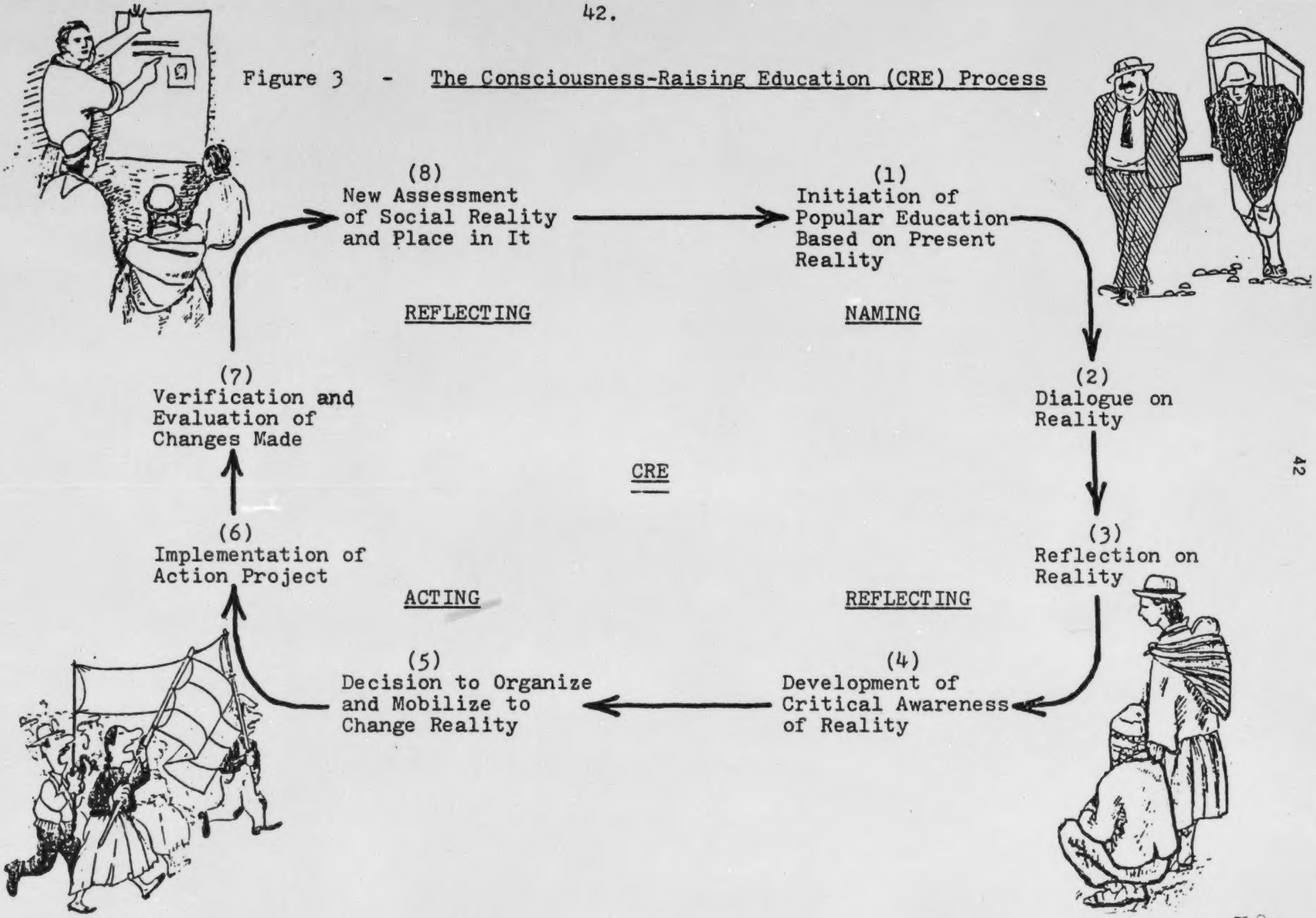
> Liberation means the transformation of a complex system of inter-related realities and not simply the reformation of a few individuals so as to reduce their negative consequences. (1976: 3)

To understand the importance of CRE to popular education in Bolivia, we must remember that the social and economic structures of the country are conditioned by dependency. In a society highly stratified and dominated by powerful elites, CRE opens the minds of peasants to legitimate prospects of participation and empowerment. CRE attempts to help the poor majority to see and reject their dependency, then work towards redressing an unjust economic system which refuses to allow them access to social benefits. CRE helps peasants to strengthen elements of judgment necessary for attaining levels of organization and action appropriate to their life predicaments. As one Bolivian PEI states:

> The function of conscientization constitutes the central axle of educational action. The campesino must search for his (her) own way to reflect on the complex reality in a dynamic way and adopt a critical attitude which will enable him (her) to find the best way to overcome it.

The following diagram (Figure 3) sums up the CRE process as consisting of naming problems, reflecting on them, and acting to correct them. The integration of naming, reflecting, and acting enables peasants to bring about meaningful social change.

Figure 3 - The Consciousness-Raising Education (CRE) Process


(8)
New Assessment of Social Reality and Place in It
(1)
Initiation of Popular Education Based on Present Reality
REFLECTING
NAMING
(7)
Verification and Evaluation of Changes Made
(2)
Dialogue on Reality
CRE
(6)
Implementation of Action Project
(3)
Reflection on Reality
ACTING
REFLECTING
(5)
Decision to Organize and Mobilize to Change Reality
(4)
Development of Critical Awareness of Reality

E. Summary Data on PEIs Investigated

1. Important Notes/Name Translations/References *

a. ACLO - Cultural Action of Loyola, see case study #5, PEI.

b. APCOB - Help for Indigenous Campesinos of Eastern Bolivia, see case study #9, PEI.

c. Alfalit - Literacy and Literature, (Global).

d. Ayni Ruway - See case study #2, partial PEI.

e. CAIM - Integrated Agricultural Co-operative of Mineros, see case study #7, partial PEI (some functions).

f. CCM - Mennonite Central Committee (Global).

g. CIPCA - Centre of Investigation and Promotion of Campesinos, see case study #10, PEI.

h. COTEICO - Church Technical Cooperation for Eastern Peasants, CIPCA affiliate in Santa Cruz, PEI.

i. Equipos Mobiles - Mobile Teams, PEI.

j. ERBOL - Radio Education of Bolivia, see case study #8, PEI network.

k. INDICEP - Institute of Cultural Investigation for Popular Education, see **history section** p.25,(intervened by para-military 1982), PEI.

l. IPTK - Polytechnical Institute of Tomas Katari, see case study #3, PEI.

m. IRFA - Institute of Radio Learning Faith and Happiness, See case study #8, partial PEI (Some functions).

n. Khana - Light and Clarity, See case study #1, PEI.

o. Korpa - PEI, see reference in section on processes(p. 60), PEI.

p. IEMB - Evangelical Methodist Church of Bolivia, see case study #4, partial PEI (some functions).

q. Pio XII- Pius 12, see case study #6, PEI.

r. Proyecto Oruro - Health Unit of Oruro Project, (Global).

s. Proyecto Cochabamba - PEI network.

t. UNITAS - National Union for Social Action Work, PEI network.

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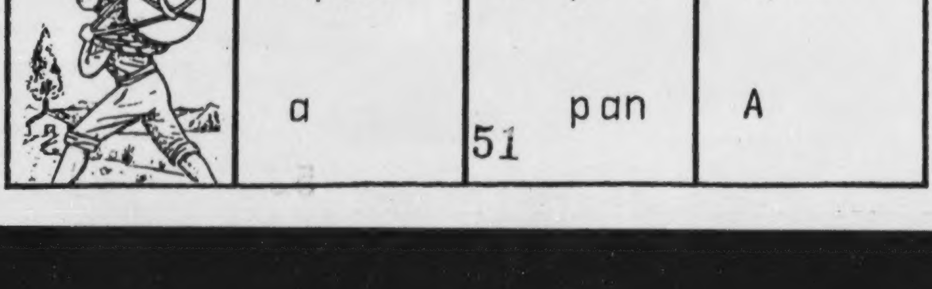
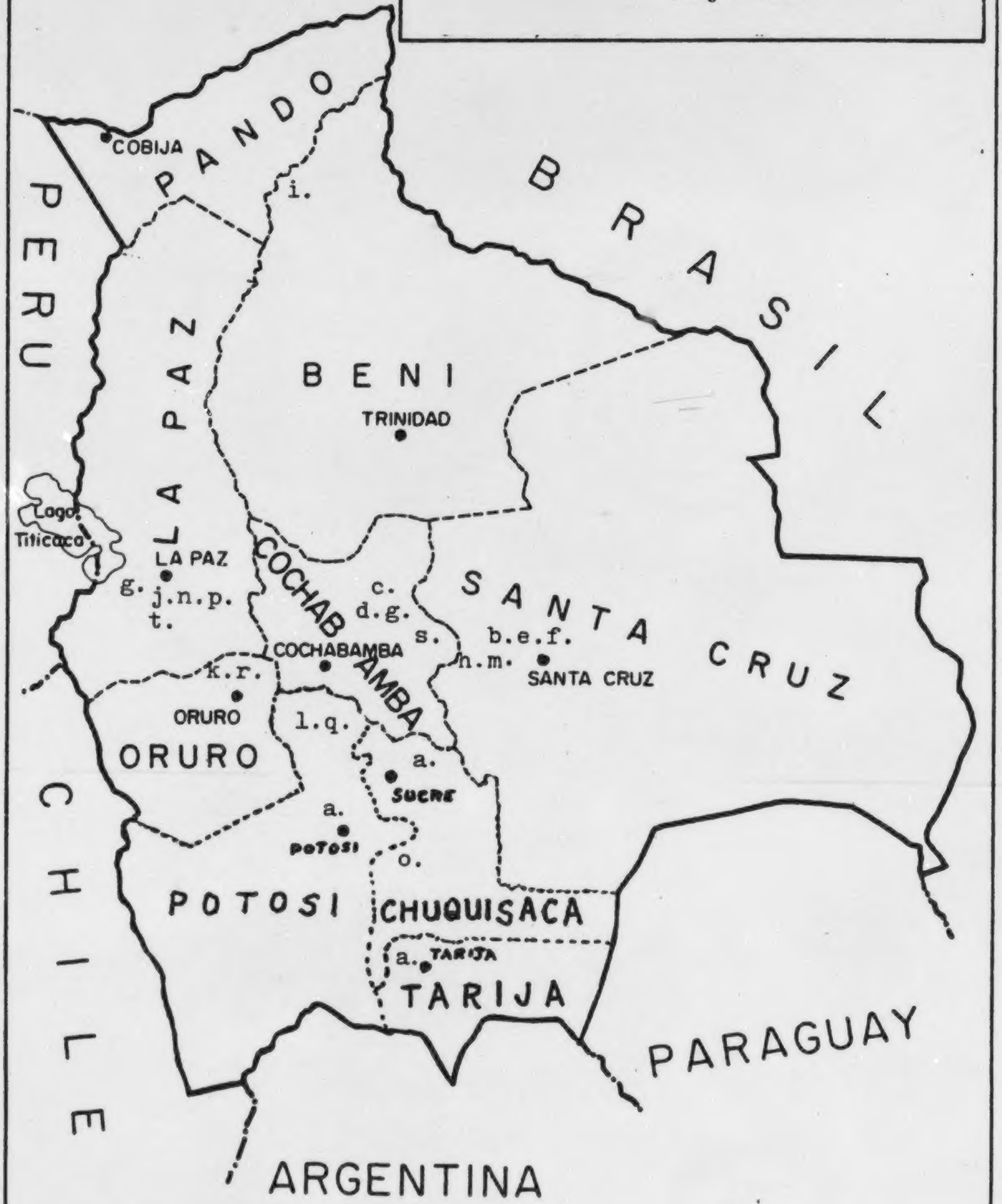
* PEI - meets all criteria of popular education institutions
Partial PEI - meets some of the criteria or assumes some PEI functions only
Global - meets few of the criteria of PEIs
Networks - coordinate PEIs or assume communication/training role



Alfalit

2. MAP OF BOLIVIA
- Showing locations of Major PEIs


PANDO
COBIJA
i.
PERU
BRASIL
LA PAZ
BENI
TRINIDAD
Lago Titicaca
LA PAZ
g.
j.n.p.
t.
COCHABAMBA
c.
d.g.
s.
COCHABAMBA
SANTA CRUZ
b.e.f.
h.m.
SANTA CRUZ
k.r.
ORURO
l.q.
ORURO
a.
SUCRE
a.
POTOSI
o.
POTOSI
CHUQUISACA
a.
TARIJA
TARIJA
CHILE
PARAGUAY
ARGENTINA

3. CHARACTERISTICS OF PEIs

PEIs / Char.	A. Size	B. Age	C. Sponsor	D. Region	E. Target Groups	F. Orientation	G. Major Programs	H. Methodology	I. No. of Com.	J. Educ. Process	K. Res, Meth.
a. ACLO	Large	1966	Church (Cath)	Chuqui.	Quechua	Econ. (all)	All	All	100+	GD, LP, CA, SP	a, b, c, d
b. APCOB	Medium	1978	Priv.	S. Cruz	Guarani Ayoreo	Cult. (all)	FT/CRE	P/C/A	10	GD, CA	a, d
c. Alfalit	Medium	1968	Church (Evan)	National	All	?	L/R/SH ABE	P/C	80	SP, LP, IA	a, b, d
d. Ayni Ruway	Medium	1973	Priv.	Cochabamba	Quechua	Cult. Econ.	SH	C	100	GD, LP, SP, CA	a, d
e. CAIM	Small	1974	Priv.	S.Cruz	Camba Colonist	Econ.	W/LD/FT	C/T	20	GD, CA,	a, b, d
f. CCM	Medium	1966	Church (Evan)	S. Cruz	Camba Colonist	Social	FT/SH/W	C/T	25	LP, SP, IA	a, b, c, d.
g. CIPCA	Large	1968	Church (Cath)	La Paz Coch.	Aymara Quechua	Econ. (all)	All	P/C/A	80	GD, SP, CA	a, d
h. COTEICO	Medium	1976	Church (Cath)	S.Cruz	Camba Colonist	Econ. (all)	W/ABE/LD/CRE/SH	P/C/A	20	GD, SP, CA	a, b, d
i. Equipos Mobiles	Small	1978	Church (Cath)	Beni Pando	Camba	Econ. (all)	All	R/P/C	20	GD, SP, CA	d
j. ERBOL	Network	1968	Church (Cath)	National	All	All	All	All	?	All	a, d
k. INDICEP	Medium	1968	Church (Cath)	Oruro	Aymara	Cult.	L/W/FT/CRE	P/C/A	30	GD, CA	a, d
l. IPTK	Medium	1980	Priv.	Potosi	Quechua	Econ. (all)	LD/CRE/FT/SH	C/T	30	GD. LP, SP, CA	a, b, c, d
m. IRFA	Medium	1976	Church (Cath)	S.Cruz	Camba Colonist	?	L/ABE/R	R/P	100	LP	a, b, c, d
	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.

Char. PEIs	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.	K.
n. Khana	Medium	1976	Church -Priv.	La Paz	Aymara	Polit. (all)	L/FT/CRE SH	All	50	GD, LP, SP, CA	a, b, c, d.
o. Korpa	Small	1975	Church-Priv.	Chuqui.	Quechua	Cult. Econ.	LD/ FT/ SH	C	30	GD, LP, SP, CA	d
p. IEMB	Small	1975	Church (Evan)	La Paz	Aymara	Cult. Polit.	R/LD/CRE	C/A	30	GD	a, d
q. Pio XII	Small	1960	Church (Cath)	Potosi	Aymara Quechua	Pol. (all)	W/LD/FT/CRE/SH	R/C	25	GD, LP, SP, CA	a, b c, d
r. Proyecto Oruro	Medium	1981	Gov.	Oruro	Aymara	Social	LD/FT	C/T	25	GD, LP	a, d
s. Proyecto Cochabamba	Network	1982	Priv.	Cochabamba	Quechua	Polit.	L/W/FT/CRE	P/C	?	All	a
t. UNITAS	Network	1980	Church (Cath)	National	All	All	LD/CRE	P/T/A	?	?	a, d

A. Size of PEI (no. of staff)
Small: under 15
Medium: 15 - 30
Large: over 30

B. Age of PEI
Date founded

C. Sponsorship
Church (Cath., Evangelical); Other Private; Government

D. Region of Operations
Departments of Bolivia served -- see Map (44)

E. Client Target Groups
Name of Indigenous Group (language); Camba is lowland mestizo; Colonist - migrant to E. Bolivia.

F. Key Orientation of PEI
Priority for action.
Economic: Prod./mkt.
Political: protest/rts.
Cultural: Native pride
Social: Community Dev.

G. Major Programs
Literacy (L); Women's Work (W); Religion (R); Basic Ed. (ABE); Leadership Devel. (LD); Training in Agric./Health (FT); Consciousness Rais. (CRE); Self-help projects (SH).

H. Methodologies Used
Radio (R); Print Materials (P); On-site Courses (C); Centralized Training (T); Advocacy Work (A).

I. Number of Communities Served by PEIs (#)

J. Educational Processes Favored
Group Dialogue (GD); Local Promoters (LP); Collective Activity (CA); Individual Assistence (IA); Shared Planning (SP).

K. Research Methods
Interviews with PEI Staff (a); Program Observation (b); Interviews with Participants (c); Analysis of Documents/Materials (d).

CHARACTERISTICS OF PEIs (continued)

V. Methodologies and Processes in POPULAR EDUCATION

"What freedom has our subsistence farmer? He scratches a bare living from the soil provided the rains do not fail; his children work at his side without schooling, medical care, or even good feeding. ... Only as his poverty is reduced will his existing political freedom become properly meaningful and his right to human dignity become a fact. ... This essential economic change will not, and cannot, take place in isolation. It depends upon, and it brings, social and political change."

J. Nyerere

A. Methodologies in the Delivery of Popular Education Programs (PEPs)

The PEIs under investigation employ a variety of delivery methodologies. The most important vehicles used in Bolivian popular education programs (PEPs) are discussed below.

1. Radio Broadcasting: One-third of the PEIs studied have facilities for the production and dissemination of radio programs, but in no case does a PEI rely on radio transmission as the only delivery vehicle. An advantage of using radio in PEPs is that it can reach fairly large numbers of isolated peasants and can easily broadcast in indigenous languages. Effectiveness is contingent on the type of program and the availability of supplementary learning resources.

Many of the PEIs involved in radio programming see their work as a viable means for oppressed Native sectors to fight for cultural survival and economic-political rights. By placing social communications media at the service of the peasantry, popular educators try to stimulate Native pride and action for development. The use of Quechua and Aymara languages is central to this task. Some of the educational content is of a non-formal nature, aimed at consciousness raising, information transfer, and skill development. Much of it is informal, including news broadcasts, musical programs, and entertainment. Both non-formal and informal content is intended to counteract the domination of the media by commercial stations which function to integrate the Indian into the society of urban, Spanish-speaking Bolivians.

The revolution of the transistor has brought the peasant into closer contact with the urban society, often making these peripheral citizens more vulnerable to modern values. Placing the media in the hands of popular educators with a different ideological perspective and employing announcers of Native extraction, has opened new possibilities for rural audiences. The concrete nature of much of the programming has earned it an important place in the lives of thousands of peasant listeners. Programs of cultural revitalization have high ratings. These serve to increase appreciation for traditional expressions of pre-Columbian culture. One anthropologist notes that Native programs on the radio give value to a culture which the dominant social structure depreciates.

The radio also serves a more explicit educational function - i.e., providing alternatives to the limited learning opportunities of the rural masses. Programs of functional education offer training in hygiene, agriculture, religion and politics. They are supplemented with printed matter, courses, and community animation. Many programmers in Bolivia try to avoid vertical and paternalistic styles of delivery and are aware of the dangers of making radio programs too formal, pedagogical, or condescending to Native learners. Many of the radio schools (escuelas radiofónicas) rely on leaders to emerge in communities to act as guides and promoters. These persons are often given training and backup support by PEIs. Much of the positive impact of radio PEPs is attributable to the skill of local volunteer promoters.

The important thing about radio education is that it is not merely a one-way process. Local participation is encouraged and PEIs help peasants develop their own programs. Interviews with campesinos are tape-recorded and replayed by many stations; opinions regarding political and economic problems are collected and returned to a broad cross-section of Indian people. Letters from campesino organizations and individuals are read over certain stations. Programming suggestions are constantly considered; radio dramas are based on authentic peasant issues and concerns. Community events and personal messages are regularly publicized, thus giving some stations status as the "voice of the campesino". Perhaps the most innovative aspect of radio delivery is the way it adapts CRE to PEPs with the purpose of building critical awareness among rural people. Radio broadcasts served as a powerful educational tool during the Bolivian election campaigns (1978-1980), helping to rally support for progressive parties.

Following the military coup of 1980, several of the radio PEIs were intervened or closed by the government, giving some indication of the impact of politically sensitive programs. During the coup, some stations built trust with campesino listeners by relaying reliable information about the dramatic events unfolding. Peasants who wished to defend the democracy were well informed and thus could develop protest strategies such as road blocks effectively. This demonstrates that the means of social communication can serve the interests of campesinos. Another radio station in the mining district has worked to unify campesinos and miners in a common struggle for human rights. Before its closure, the station regularly protested military abuses. The CRE commitment of such radio stations makes them vulnerable to charges of "indoctrination" from a variety of critics.

Programmers interested in CRE are experimenting with forms of socially and politically relevant "radio novels" in an attempt to compete with commercial "soap operas" which are popular with Bolivian audiences. Alienating themes are replaced with critical content which allows the poor to see their poverty in a different light and perhaps challenge the circumstances which perpetuate their marginality. This task of undermining "escape programming" which is readily accepted by listeners, is a difficult challenge.

The effectiveness of radio programming as a vehicle for popular education is hindered by a variety of factors. Transmitters are generally of limited potency and serve only small geographical regions. Backup support by on-site teams of animateurs and technical personnel is essential and good print resources must accompany radio training courses. Often the broadcast schedules are inappropriate to campesino listeners and their rhythm of life. Some campesinos in the La Paz area have complained that with the economic crisis facing them, they could not even afford to purchase batteries for transistor radios. It is estimated that at present popular education by radio reaches less than 40% of the rural population.

ACLO

The radio has become the voice of the campesino.

2. Use of Publications and Print Materials: Two-thirds of the PEIs produce their own print resources for use in a variety of programs. Cheap materials can be made available to large numbers of peasants in PEPs. Producers of print materials assume a basic level of literacy and a knowledge of Spanish on the part of peasant users. (Native languages cannot be fully utilized in a written form.) This makes the potential readership quite small in rural areas where an illiteracy rate of 70% is not uncommon and where fewer than 40% speak Spanish.

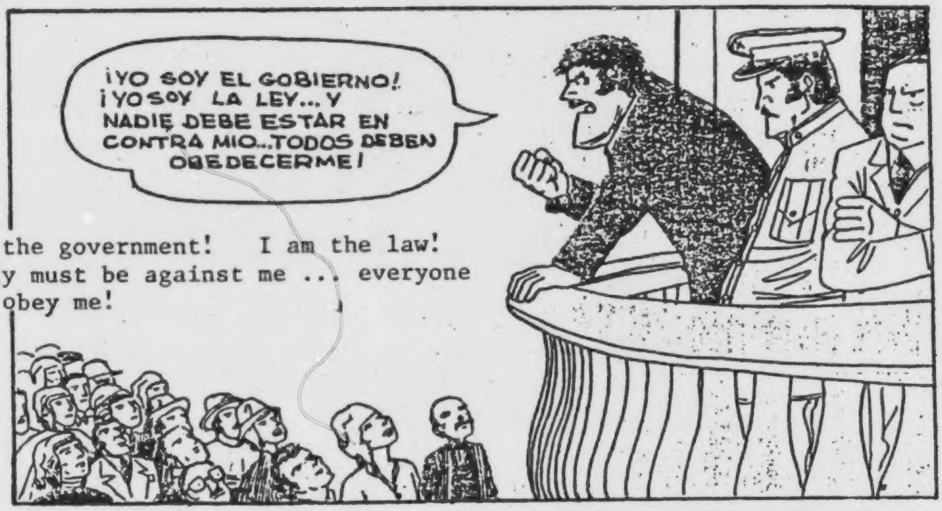
Most materials are produced by the larger PEIs which are equipped with printing machines and curriculum writers. One PEI turns out 30,000 copies of pamphlets and booklets each year. Common publications for neo-literates include such topics as "How to Run a Meeting", "The Cultivation of Potatoes", "Agrarian Co-operatives", and "Arithmetic for Farmers". The titles of many books reflect technical subject matter, but some books directly focus on CRE areas, such as Native history, unionism, forming action groups, analyzing local injustices, and overcoming economic exploitation.

The newspapers and newsletters published provide information to the campesinos and act as means of expression for them. The quality of these publications vary from offset issues of twelve pages to mimeographed newsletters of only two pages. The papers may appear regularly or irregularly. They are generally distributed free through PEIs, local promoters, and from drop-off points in the countryside. Contents include editorial comment and readers' letters, regional news pertaining to campesino interests, technical bulletins, women's concerns, political analyses, and family, health, or religious advice. CRE is the goal of a wide variety of articles. News reporting of actual co-operatives, community action projects, and cultural festivals give the newspapers a concrete point of reference with rural people. Many articles foster involvement and identification. Local injustices are publicized and various actions in defense of human rights may be suggested.

Some publications bridge the gap between popular text books and newspapers. A La Paz PEI, for example, publishes a weekly, serialized pamphlet in comic book form which portrays the life of a family and community on the Altiplano and how they deal with complex life problems. This popular educational tool introduces such issues as inflation, urban migration and devaluation in terms that can be understood by peasants. The booklet's CRE content is reinforced by radio broadcasts (in Aymara) and community forums facilitated by a mobile team of popular educators and trained local promoters.

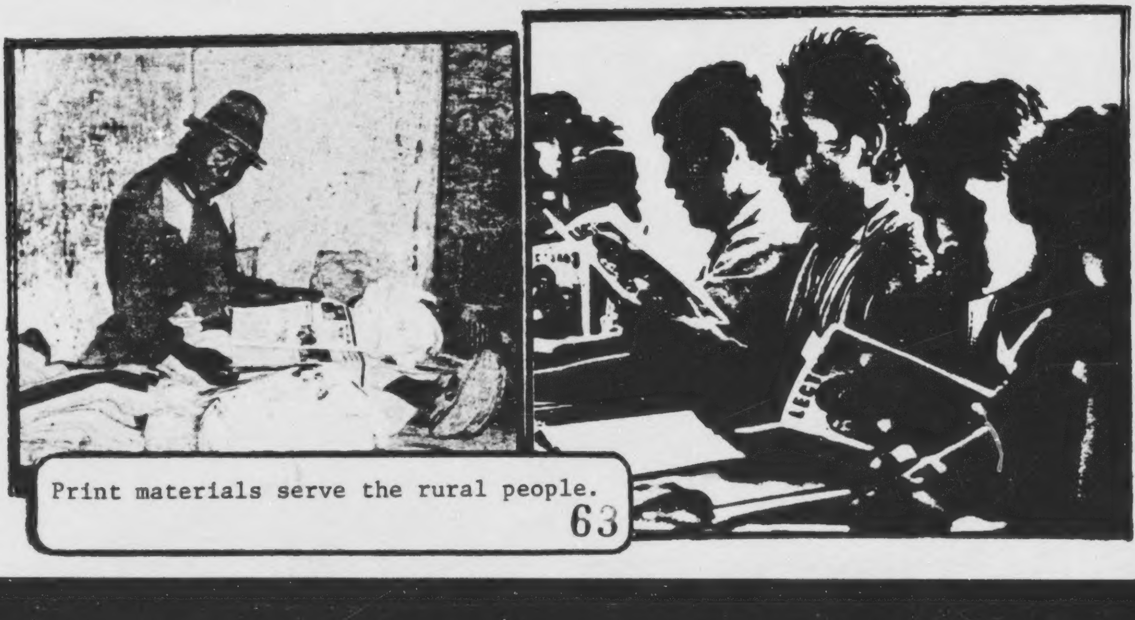
Pamphlets are often published with focus on a single event or issue. These help campesinos to acquire information on subjects related to their lives. Pamphlets might deal with technical topics like ridding sheep of ticks or avoiding dysentery. The CRE pamphlets might focus on such themes as the corruption of local officials, the need for lower transportation rates, and alternatives to military government. Posters, calendars, and display photographs serve to adorn houses and public places, while stimulating campesino interest on critical issues. Finally, educational games, slide-tape shows, and audio-cassette programs are sporadically used in conjunction with training programs. They can be integrated with local programs with a minimum of equipment necesaary (only tape recorders and battery-powered slide projectors for rural use). Simulations, although involving for participants, tend to be difficult to explain and facilitate, therefore are used minimally. At least one PEI is involved in the production and distribution of audio-visual software with relevant CRE content for the rural Bolivian milieu.

In a new area of PEI work with print materials, educators encourage peasants to become producers of their own knowledge. Local participants assist PEI staff in the creation of new materials. For example, one PEI facilitated the production of a local history which recorded a community's struggle towards economic rights. The simply made booklet contained both a written text and illustrations. A PEI in the Eastern area has engaged promoters and local participants in the development of popular print materials especially for the people who spend their lives in isolated encampments working in the harvesting of rubber and Brazil nuts. The cultural content is specific to this area of Bolivia alone. Materials produced in the Andean region would be completely irrelevant to this small group of peasants in lowland tropical settlements. Locally produced materials help increase the inquisitiveness and motivation of PEP participants. The challenge is for more materials to be created and controlled by the people who are most affected by them. The production of print resources by the users themselves is an important step in training for empowerment. It also practically opposes the monopolization of culture by the dominant classes, professionals, and outsiders. This radical approach to producing curriculum materials may result in technically inferior final products, but the process of involvement and control itself is enriching to adult learners.


¡YO SOY EL GOBIERNO! ¡YO SOY LA LEY... Y NADIE DEBE ESTAR EN CONTRA MIO...TODOS DEBEN OBEDECERME!

I am the government! I am the law! Nobody must be against me ... everyone must obey me!

CIPCA



ACLO

Print materials serve the rural people.

3. On-Site Programming: At least three-quarters of the PEIs conduct training and animation programs directly in peasant communities. Personnel travel to villages to facilitate PEPs of all types. This methodology serves to improve relations between staff and villagers. Facilitators learn about campesino needs in a first-hand way, while total communities are mobilized to learn and contribute to the maintenance needs of PEI staff in their midst. Action projects can only be carried out on-site. Although PEI personnel play a strong role in this programming, the success of projects ultimately depends on the transferral of responsibility to local participants.

In one four-day seminar visited in Potosi, PEI staff worked with members of the community to train them in how to operate an effective consumer co-operative. Responsibility and commitment was increased and the skill base for co-operative management expanded. Participants realized the advantages of the co-operative in terms of cutting middlemen and lowering prices paid for basic food stuffs. By educating not just a few leaders, but also the rank-and-file members, the co-operative would improve its chances of success. On-site learning was crucial to this development-oriented PEP.

In a region of Chuquisaca, a team of three PEI staff visited two isolated villages to animate interested residents to seek greater unity and common action. The personnel helped campesinos identify their needs, establish priorities, and consider steps to organize and take economic action. A consumer co-operative was agreed upon, a plan designed jointly, and institutional responsibilities negotiated. In another region, a village which had organized itself to engage in a communal project of clearing land together, relied on institutional support from the PEI in the form of credit and technical assistance. The outside consultant agreed to facilitate the rental of a caterpillar. The PEI staff who were temporarily residing in the village, worked alongside the campesino participants. They conducted evening classes in measurement, mathematics, and CRE at the request of local cooperants.

As in Canadian continuing education, the heart of PEPs in Bolivia is the short course, workshop, or seminar. Most of the courses take place in the village setting, using whatever primitive facilities exist - a school classroom, a Church, or people's homes. Closely related to the course format is the action project. People learn from their involvement in concrete projects, ranging from agricultural production to local community improvement. Reflection on the procedures, successes, failures, and leadership helps participants learn while doing. One popular educator remarked that it was not until campesinos began their own action projects that they realized their need to learn to read and write. Literacy classes flowed naturally from the practical economic experience in this case. CRE is also easily integrated into on-site action projects. Some PEIs note that rural communities more deeply analyze their problematic when they implement and evaluate actions themselves.

Broadly described, PEPs in peasant communities involve the transfer of knowledge and content, the development of process skills, and effort towards organization and action. Serving the campesino in his (her) own community enhances direct participation and empowerment. Unless special equipment and facilities are required which a rural setting cannot provide, on-site popular education is generally recommended. This strategy ensures that local promoters, resources, and initiatives will be utilized, while at the same time, optimally employing outside resources. In rural La Paz, for example, a one-day seminar on Aymara natural medicine was requested by residents of a small isolated village. An outside resource person conducted the program in the Aymara language, and local residents contributed their own traditional knowledge. Culturalpride was fostered and better health practices introduced through this interchange in the peasants' home environment.

Finally a few Bolivian PEIs working with Native groups organize festivals which bring together neighbouring communities to celebrate their culture. Activities include sports, theatre, folklore, handicraft displays, and religious acts.

These events build pride and solidarity through authentic expressions of traditions and total community involvement. One PEI serving La Paz and another in Cochabamba work with campesinos in planning and executing such festival days. This learning event goes beyond other on-site activities already discussed in that it involves considerable mobilization of local skill, talent, and resources in an educational experience that is both non-formal and informal.

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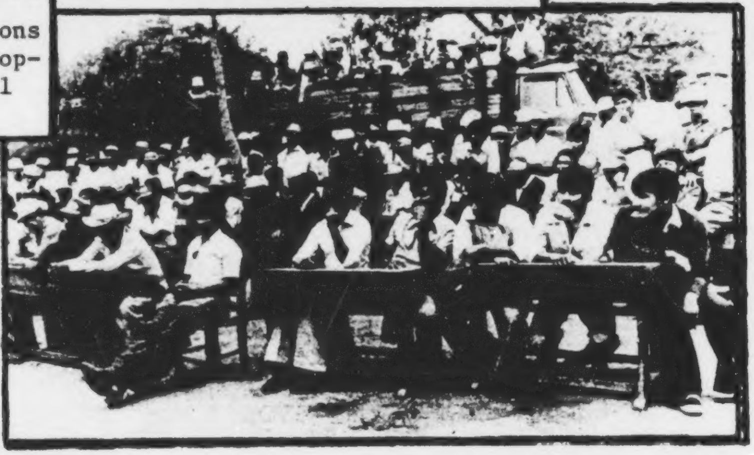
Courses and training sessions at the village level are popular with campesinos in all parts of the country.



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4. Centralized Training: More than one-fourth of the PEIs maintain facilities such as conference centres, demonstration farms, and training facilities. An advantage of this delivery method is that fairly large numbers of campesinos can be brought together for training for a few days, utilizing personnel and resources efficiently. PEIs with such programs work on the "multiplier principle", hoping that trainees will return to their communities to promote what they have learned.

Some educators believe that there is a positive effect gained from bringing together campesinos from diverse areas for interaction and the sharing of experiences.

The disadvantage of this approach is that total communities cannot participate, since only leaders or representatives are chosen to attend. Some PEIs maintain that removing leaders from their home settings can be detrimental in that it breeds distrust in the communities and provokes leadership struggles. It is difficult to discern if this is true or not. The leaders trained in centralized PEPs are the monitors, base promoters, and auxillary personnel which PEIs rely on to form a strong rural network. From observations in rural areas, it can be concluded that some of the trained local leaders function well in their home environments, while others do not. Although it makes sense to develop leadership related to a variety of advantageous tasks or skills, the expectation that new promoters will be able and willing to assume major responsibilities in their villages may be unreasonable. PEIs often assume that trainees will automatically command the respect and confidence of neighbours to practice their newly acquired technical skills as health promoters or agricultural monitors, or their leadership process skills as lay catechists or co-operative organizers. Some critics believe that the role of centralized training must be to train individuals who will naturally and informally act as change catalysts in their communities through their indirect demonstration effect on neighbours, instead of to train leaders who will assume formal, well-defined leadership roles in on-going PEPs.

In Santa Cruz, a PEI sponsors short central training courses for "teacher-guides", volunteers from rural areas who are expected to act as resource persons for a radio literacy program in their home communities. Another PEI in the same region brings together small farmers to learn new appropriate farm technologies, and women to learn nutrition and infant care. The key question in all of these PEPs is the ability of minimally trained auxillary personnel to utilize the skills and become effective change agents in their home settings. At a large experimental farm facility belonging to a PEI in Sucre, trainees from an entire department can be taught skills in cattle raising through a hands-on, intensive course where the best resources are brought together in a one-week non-formal process. After taking a series of such courses, the leaders have a high level of knowledge and experience which can be applied to their home situation. Again, the issue is not so much the efficiency of the training program itself as the proven effectiveness of the newly trained promoter in a community milieu. The impact of these local persons on their own villages is a topic for further research.

5. Campesino Advocacy: Most PEIs provide advocacy services to campesinos. Such services include legal aid, research and feasibility studies, credit, and urban orientation services. These central services allow PEIs to act as a liaison between the complex urban society and the campesino world. PEIs in Santa Cruz, for example, help campesinos to deal with applications for titled land and for agricultural credit. Economic feasibility studies help co-operatives determine if it is in their best interests to pursue a particular project. All PEIs guide campesinos in how best to approach government bureaucracies and overcome their insecurity of relating to bewildering and sometimes discriminatory urban institutions.

A large PEI maintains hostels for campesinos doing business in three Southern cities. This service -- a bed, reasonably priced meals, and an open, friendly atmosphere -- is greatly appreciated by peasants normally subject to exploitation during city trips. The offices of PEIs are in most cases the best place for peasants to turn to, because of the honest, non-humiliating relations which prevail. During periods of political repression, PEIs also take a strong human rights advocacy position, helping peasants avoid persecution. Sometimes they assist leaders in escaping the country or seek the release from false imprisonment of campesinos who may be arrested as "subversives". All advocacy demonstrates the PEI commitment to the people with whom they work. They generally promote the human rights causes of Native and peasant peoples and are ready to intervene in defense of individuals and communities abused by the larger Bolivian society.

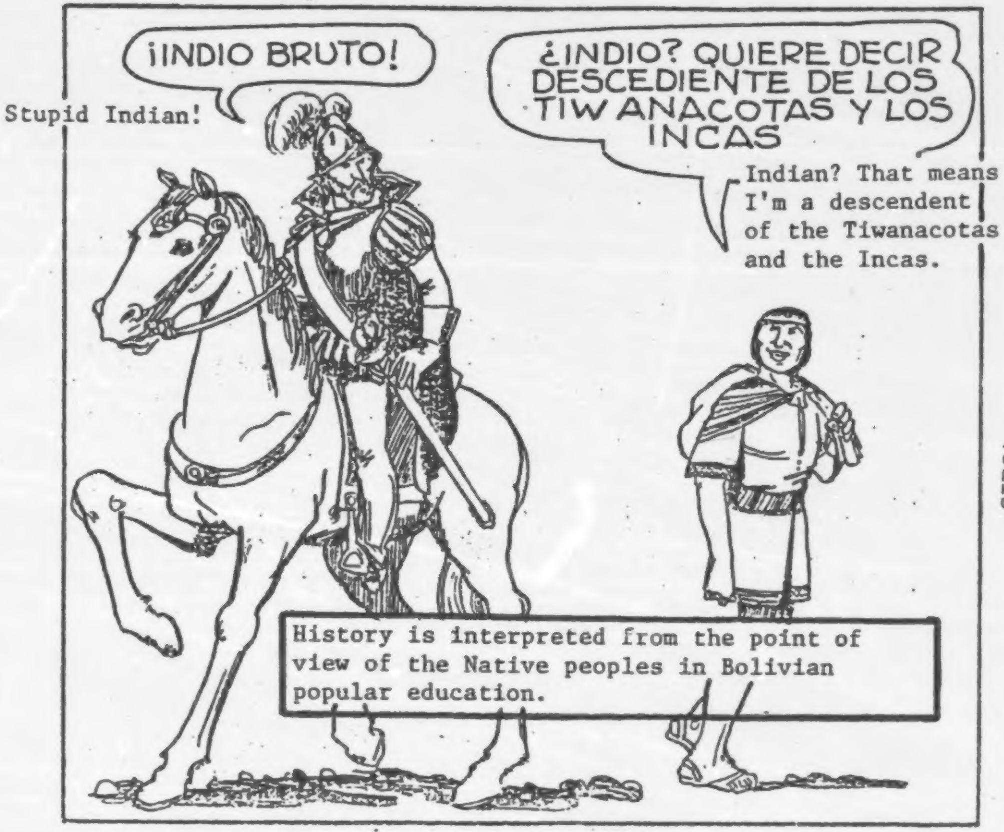
B. Empowering Processes in Popular Education Programs (PEPs)

Some of the processes employed by Bolivian PEIs in their work with peasants will be discussed in this section. Process evaluation centres on the matter of relations between educators and those being educated. How programs are conducted and the roles of facilitators and learners are important to understanding empowerment in Bolivian popular education. Kindervatter notes that all empowering processes have certain characteristics in common:

> Generally NFE for empowering is an educational approach which enables learners to gain greater understanding of and control over social, economic, and/or political forces through: (1) exercising a high degree of control over all aspects of the learning process; (2) learning both "content" and "process" skills responsive to their needs and problems; and, (3) working collaboratively to solve mutual problems. (1979: 245)

Empowerment should also result in people significantly improving their standing in society. Empowering processes in PEPs help to bring about conditions favorable to the creation of a new society which ensures the participation of the poor. The five process characteristics identified are not separate. They come together to give coherence to PEPs and help the poor to achieve greater control over forces in their lives. The processes are: (1) active participation, (2) collective learning, (3) transfer of responsibility, (4) democratic relations, (5) facilitative styles. Each of these five processes will be examined briefly below.

1. Active Participation: The most important empowering process is a commitment to increasing participation by campesinos in educational programs and in the society at large. Rather than producing "consumers" of educational services, the PEIs work towards progressive levels of control. Providing programs to previously excluded peasants is only a first step. Allowing people "access" to programs is superior to merely giving handouts to the poor, but popular educators hope that participants will exercise full control over a given program and later express this power in the larger social world.


¡INDIO BRUTO!
Stupid Indian!
¿INDIO? QUIERE DECIR DESCEDIENTE DE LOS TIWANACOTAS Y LOS INCAS
Indian? That means I'm a descendent of the Tiwanacotas and the Incas.

History is interpreted from the point of view of the Native peoples in Bolivian popular education.

CIPCA

It is questionable to what extent peasants can become masters of their own learning, if they are not willing to assume power over PEPs. Sometimes they appear too anxious to relinquish control back to the PEI and accept a paternalistic relationship. This is a somewhat different case than when PEIs are reluctant to turn control over to campesino organizers. Participation in its highest form is possible only when peasants begin to take control of programs. A desire to increase involvement in defining program objectives, preparing program plans, executing programs, etc. on the part of participants is necessary to attain eventual control. In only a few PEPs investigated were higher levels of participation "won" by negotiation and assertiveness of the peasants, rather than by calculated relinquishment of power and control by the sponsoring PEIs. While maintaining supportive relationships with PEIs, these local study and action groups have been able to establish their own plans and implement their own actions boldly.

A good example of movement towards control is seen in the work of Korpa in Nor-Cinti. Here, a group of Quechuas, with assistance from a local school teacher, invited a regional PEI to help them develop their programs of cultural dynamism, economic development, and social promotion. A multi-purpose co-operative was formed and a campesino training centre constructed with outside financial and technical assistance. Now, over 50 villages in the area operate communal projects and non-formal education while reducing outside control. Although some backup services are still requested, mass participation and autonomous local leadership maintain primary control of PEPs. Full ownership of the processes are readily assumed by local promoters and base action groups. The priests working with the program are progressively retiring from major responsibilities related to PEPs. The overall result has been united communities through improved economic activity, a stronger Native identity, and less urban migration.

CRE is important to help campesinos become more aware of their abilities and powers. It may motivate groups of learners to take over leadership, increase their participation in local programs, and seek more equal status and power relationships in the larger economic and political arena. It may also enable people to exercise greater control over local planned change programs which affect them. For example, in one women's organization in Oruro, discussions of family health problems led to a more systematic and critical analysis of overall health levels and the lack of government services in Aymara communities. The women undertook their own health improvement projects with PEI-sponsored promoter training in both modern and traditional medicine. At the same time, they increased political lobbying through a broad-based women's federation. The participants committed themselves to attaining the rights of Bolivian women and children to better health care services in rural areas.

In conclusion, participatory processes stimulated in PEPs have the effect of helping peasants to "name their world" and emerge from their restrictive "culture of silence". Empowerment is directly related to the willingness and ability of Bolivian peasants to increase the degree of their participation in PEPs and stimulate social change processes.

2. Collective Learning: The small-group structure is central to all PEPs. In the programs observed, PEIs made special effort to facilitate group learning and action. Dialogue was increased as large groups were broken into more manageable units with local leadership taking charge. Almost all of the PEPs observed utilized group dynamics in the class or meeting situation. Generally, reflection groups are small in size to optimize face-to-face interaction and encourage participants to express ideas without being intimidated. Action groups, on the other hand, are larger and may consist of coalitions of small study or work groups. They allow people to mobilize more effectively. The model of horizontal group involvement aids in the formation of more diffuse leadership and diminishes the chance of control by professional staff or by a single autocratic leader.

In no programs do PEIs emphasize work with individuals. Programs are collective, open to all interested persons, and participatory. Popular educators are more adamant than their global educator counterparts about working on a collective basis, because solidarity and group action are considered an important part of social change processes. Group growth and development are stressed, even though facilitators admit that skill building, consciousness, motivation, and self-confidence are by and large individual psychological processes. But, with social transformation as the ultimate goal of PEPs, collective identity, cooperation, and mutuality are characteristics to be encouraged. Although this emphasis is criticized by some as being the imposition of PEI goals and methods upon peasant communities, there is little doubt that collective learning processes have a strong motivational impact on learners attracted to PEPs.

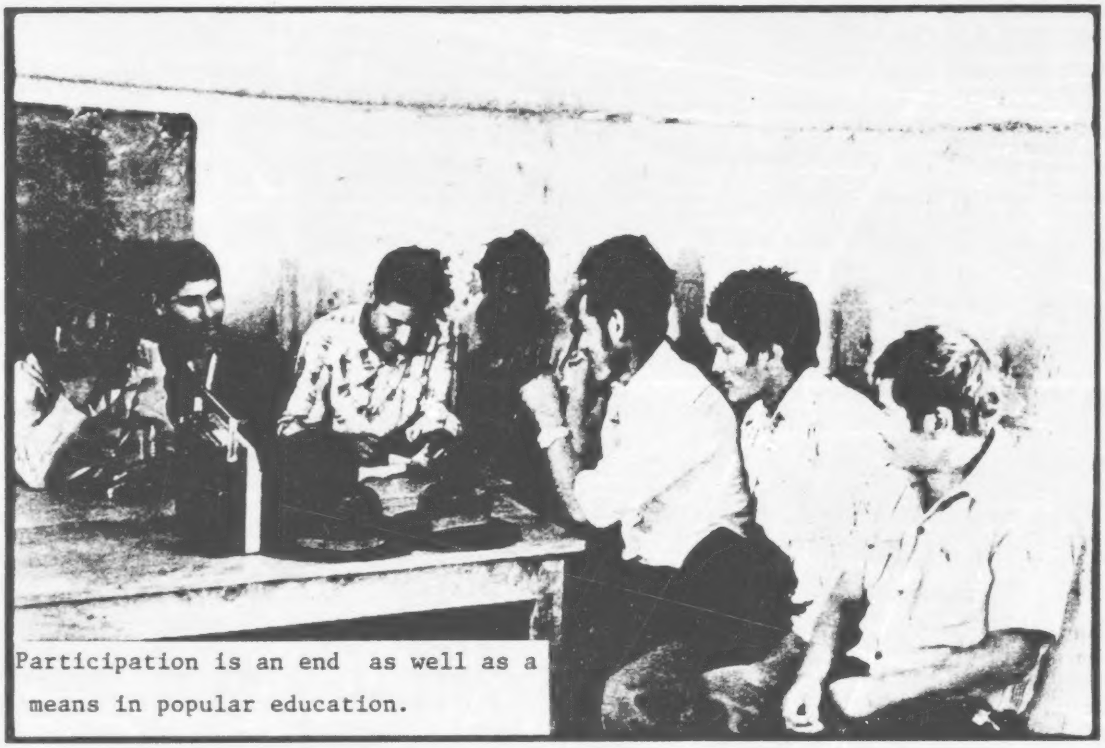
3. Transfer of Responsibility: As we already saw in the participation discussion, PEI staff generally encourage groups of learners to become responsible for tasks that affect them. In several of the programs observed, facilitators gave volunteers the opportunity to teach others and assume leadership roles. In one La Paz PEP where promoters were being trained to

work in their own communities, each trainee was encouraged to change his (her) role from that of learner to facilitator by practically demonstrating how he (she) would convey the subject matter to others. In early stages, participants are reluctant to take this initiative, but this changes with increased experience and confidence.

Participant leadership is encouraged at the level of peer teaching in adult basic education classes, through the training of promoters, and in the upgrading of community leaders who emerge in economic and political organizations at the local level. The process of transferring responsibility is a slow one in many PEPs. It ultimately depends on the willingness of PEIs to withdraw from tight control and the motivation of participants to take charge. Internal leadership surfaces on the basis of self-selection or personal interest, democratic elections or appointments, and practical training in technical or leadership areas. The different PEI leadership training programs are designed to help potential leaders develop skill and confidence to take on greater responsibility in the service of their own people.

Organization and action can be better assumed by local campesinos if leaders are capable, committed, and respected by villagers. Health promoters, agricultural monitors, cooperative leaders, literacy monitors, union leaders, and religious catechists form a pool of skill for the developmental needs of peasant communities. PEPs are able to prepare these local educators for social change activities. Promoters usually begin their work as intermediaries between base programs and PEI staff, taking most of their cues from the latter group. Later, they become more independent of the PEIs and become more responsible to base organizations and the community at large.

As in any society, only some laaders have the qualities necessary to work effectively with their people. It can be speculated that in rural Bolivia many of the leaders have utilized the training and support of PEIs to contribute to the betterment of their communities and the on-going education of rural neighbours. There is some information to suggest that leaders have become much more politically astute, due to their exposure to CRE programs. Many campesino leaders articulate Bolivian social problems, their causes and desired solutions, in a competent way. They appear willing to continue to educate their comrades in the political domain, using group dialogical processes. In one Potosi community, PEI-trained local leaders spoke about their lack of rights under a "de facto" government and worked towards the formation of popular organizations in defense of democracy in the zone. This process of increasing awareness, analysis, and action is the result of CRE program input, actual experience, and the presence of responsible local leaders trained to mediate and facilitate meaningful learning.



Participation is an end as well as a means in popular education.

4. Democratic Relations: PEIs try to downplay status, knowledge, and ability differentials as they work with local groups. Democratic procedures and non-hierarchical relations help to transfer decision-making towards those who have always followed orders, with little opportunity to take responsibility for programs. By helping create a new set of open

relations, peasants feel freer to comment, criticize, and take responsibility, despite the presence of outside PEI personnel. Democracy begins in the limited PEP context, but may extend to the community as a whole. Majority vote and consensus prevail in many programs, the result of participatory group processes, training, and organizational experience.

In all programs visited, observations were made of the way educators perceived and treated campesinos. A profound respect exists in most programs. Facilitators from PEIs work at overcoming vertical relationships and refuse to treat campesinos as "empty vessels needing to be filled". The Freirian concept of "banking" is well understood by staff. Participants are respected as collaborators with something useful to contribute to their own education. Through group work processes, PEI facilitators encourage active participation which will instill a greater sense of competence and confidence in learners. Generally, manipulation and indoctrination are averted through dialogue and collective decision-making among peasants and program staff.

Non-hierarchical relations were noticeable in a number of the programs visited. For example, in a PEP conducted in one isolated village in Potosi, PEI staff ate, slept, and socialized with local residents during a four-day seminar. Their attitude of acceptance of the mixed Aymara-Quechua culture enabled them to establish excellent rapport with the community residents. Local participants involved with the PEI became its staunch supporters and advocates, partly because of the atmosphere of openness and non-hierarchical relations created by a sensitive staff.

5. Facilitative Styles: Closely connected with participant leadership and democratic relations is the willingness of popular educators to relinquish their roles as indispensible teachers and change agents. As personnel place themselves in facilitative advisory roles, horizontal relations are extended and peasants find themselves in a position to increase power over programs. Ideally, the outsiders will

only serve as enablers, process guides, resource persons, or problem posers. But, in actual practice, a number of Bolivian PEI staff continue to maintain high profiles and key leadership roles in their affiliated PEPs, even though enabling relationships with campesinos were recognized by staff as being important in most of the PEPs visited.

Rural Bolivians are often suspicious of outsiders who enter their communities (because of previous experiences of exploitation and manipulation with politicians, religious leaders, educators, and the military). In this light, it is not surprising that PEI personnel must earn the right to work with rural communities. By meeting people on their own terms, PEI staff gain access and establish rapport. Once programming begins, horizontal communication must be maintained. PEI staff tell of cases in which they have not been accepted and have had to withdraw programs. Lack of cooperation, they claim, is connected to a lack of willingness to adopt a more facilitative, enabling stance in relations with rural people. In one Santa Cruz PEP, facilitators are careful to respect the traditional decision-making structure of the Native communities where they work. There is a conscious effort to empower the tribal assemblies and collaborate with existing political structures. As enablers, they often await requests from the community's decision-making council before intervening with specific programs and resources.

Finally, who should determine the PEP goals and strategies, the PEI staff (planners) or the client groups? Kindervatter reminds us that each group may assess the PEPs from different perspectives:

> Planners are often interested in long-range results of a program, whereas participants are interested in immediate benefits. (1979: 239)

Enablers will probably opt for some kind of flexible, joint planning which takes account of the short-term and pragmatic interests of PEP participants from campesino communities. Many express the hope that they will "work themselves out of a job", as trained local promoters and spontaneous leadership take on planning and administrative roles themselves.

Some Concluding Thoughts on Empowering Processes

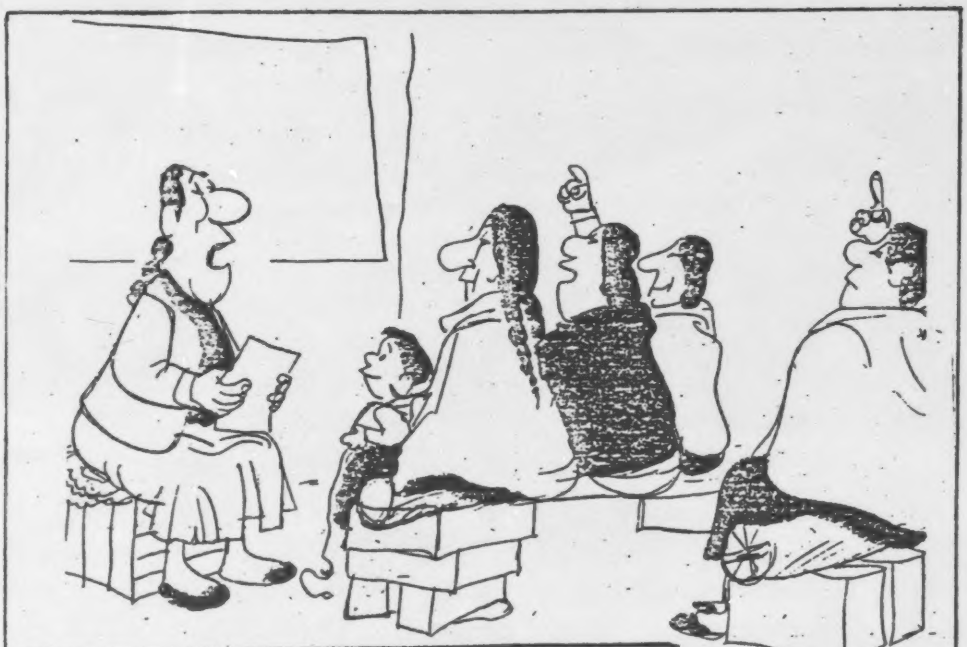
Empowering processes are related indirectly to the framework created by Malcolm Knowles. Knowles' concept of "andragogy", which has acquired much interest in North American adult education circles, emphasizes the importance of learner participation and autonomy. Knowles has repeatedly stated that the basic element in helping adults learn is the involvement of the learner in the process of planning and carrying out his (her) own learning. However, Knowles' emphasis on "the technology of androgogy" fails to take account of the conflictive nature of Bolivian society and the political forces that shape the context for adult learning. The serious commitment of PEIs to the social change process means that a non-directive andragogical model of managing, guiding, and enabling must be tempered with a passionate, political advocacy model. Popular educators must often risk charges of manipulation and indoctrination in the highly complex and tempestuous Bolivian setting.

Enablers find they walk a path located between two pitfalls -- manipulation and detachment. Fortunately, manipulation is not the predominant pattern in educator-learner interactions in Bolivian PEPs. The danger of manipulation, however, still exists for popular educators because of their strong political commitments. The role of popular educators is a difficult one, as La Belle points out:

> The educator or change agent in this process must be aware of reality and cannot claim neutrality toward the world. At the same time, however, the educator cannot perscribe his own option to others, as that is manipulation and inevitably leads to the dehumanization of man. (Niehoff, 1977: 217)

Similarly, as Huidobro notes, the educator is a committed, political human being who sees him (her)self as "a carrier of a social project and of a new way to life which he (she) wishes to see realized some day, and hopes will be shared by those being educated" (1982: 71). The danger is to project this hope on the peasants to an extent that participative and empowering educational processes are converted into manipulative and indoctrinating ones. It appears that the hands-off, detachment pattern in educational relations is not as serious a danger for PEI staff as the manipulation risk. By being too laissez-faire, personnel feel that they cannot establish good horizontal relations with peasants. Strict detachment, where educators remain too aloof and intervene only when approached to do so, conveys an attitude of disinterest to rural collaborators.

There is some evidence that Bolivian PEIs create dependency relationships when they try to maintain their influence in an area. By surpassing the role of facilitation and enabling, a subtle paternalism is kept in place. In opting for an enabling strategy, autonomous base organizations will not be curtailed. In recognizing this issue, a popular educator remarked, "Do the people participate in our program, or do we participate in theirs?" A recognized need for balance on the part of both PEI staff and campesino participants makes the enabling process agreeable to all parties. Enabling implies a give-and-take process between educators and learners that favors the empowerment of the latter group.


UNITAS

People are involved through popular education in making decisions that directly affect them.

"The education of adults can contribute powerfully to the attainment of a popular culture. It must orient itself not towards the mechanical transmission of knowledge ... but towards the formation of free and responsible people who live by orienting themselves in a concrete way to specific problems."

M. Azcueta

VI. CASE STUDIES Of INNOVATIVE PROGRAMS

Case Studies of Innovative Bolivian PEPs

In this section, brief case studies of ten innovative PEPs will be presented. Most of the programs are developed by PEIs, although in the cases of IEMB (#4) and CAIM (#7) the programs discussed are delivered by a Church organization and a co-operative respectively. Both of these collectivities have created a space for popular education to develop, although neither are full PEIs in the same way as the other eight discussed. Each of the ten cases are distinct in emphasis and strategy. A common thread in all of them is the acknowledged importance of CRE in economic, political, or cultural areas.

1. Khana - Political Education by Radio, Print, and On-Site Seminars

This interesting program serves the Aymara peasants in La Paz. Khana produces programs used by three radio stations, in conjunction with printed materials and a team of animateurs which visit rural locations. The goal of the program is "to raise the level of consciousness of the campesino sector so that they will participate in the process of structural transformation of the society". The CRE methodologies have as their specific objectives the strengthening of popular organizations, revaluation of Aymara culture, and the promotion of collective economic production.

The Aymara language radio programs are the heart of the CRE work. Socio-political themes are emphasized and Catholic social teachings are applied to actual peasant problems. National and international situations of exploitation are analyzed, often using dramatizations. In the program "Expressing Our Opinions", the ideas of Aymara peasants are recorded and later broadcast. Radio reflections focus on such themes as urban migration, Indian unemployment, and social discrimination. The programs use Church statements to present powerful moral lessons regarding justice for the poor.

The best known program series, known as "Khanatatiwa", presents themes related to the lives of campesino communities in personalized dramatizations. A small comic book is distributed simultaneously to reinforce the radio presentations. The episodes contain such CRE themes as the cost of living, agrarian reform, urban exploitation of peasants, and amnesty. This content is further reinforced by a mobile team of personnel which engages village leaders in an analysis of the programs. Leaders in turn conduct non-formal education sessions with their neighbours. Campesino participants are encouraged to fill out short homework booklets which test their understanding of the material and return them to the La Paz office.

It is impressive to see how semi-literate Aymaras grasp complicated CRE subject matter. High motivation and inquisitiveness characterized the learners in the programs visited by the researcher in July 1982. At one meeting with promoters in the Ingavi region, the peasant participants grappled with such difficult topics as what the recently declared amnesty meant to Bolivia and how the February devaluation was closely related to the economic crisis in rural communities. Personnel from the PEI favored horizontal and participatory learning in this session. Later in the week, local leaders facilitated CRE sessions in community study groups composed of residents who had listened to the weekly radio broadcasts, read the booklet, and were interested in learning more. The PEI staff utilized both Aymara and Spanish languages during their field visits.

This program may result in requests for assistance in organizing and economic action projects. In one area visited, the peasants had decided to confront the economic crisis (now better understood as a result of Khanatatiwa programs) by forming a potato producers' association. A market outlet was found in La Paz and the PEI took a supportive role in monitoring the project with the Aymaras. In other areas, organized peasants have reacted to the economic crisis by direct protest (eg. by blocking highways). With rising prices for agricultural inputs and transportation, and falling prices paid to producers, frustration results which can lead to either form of behavior. It can be speculated that both responses on the Altiplano may be be related to the extensive political CRE available through Khana and other La Paz PEIs.

2. Ayni Ruway - Education in Defense of Quechua Culture

This Cochabamba-based program is unique in its cultural CRE emphasis. The program began as an indigenous Quechua movement with the purpose of diversifying the sources of economic income, while at the same time, revitalizing Quechua self-identity. As a result of a dynamic, almost informal, process in several small communities, co-operatives were launched to produce and market typical ceramic and woolen artifacts. A commitment to the traditional value of total community improvement means that the co-operative surplus is shared by an entire community, and not merely by the producing members. In addition, the highly participatory CRE experience has enabled the communities involved to explicitly subordinate technological efficiency to cultural identity goals. The result has been that new technologies are judged to be appropriate only to the degree that the community is able to understand and control them. Conscious decisions are made to accept or reject innovations from the non-Indian world by participation from all community members. For example, the traditional pottery production system was modified from the use of wood-burning to kerosine-burning ovens, with a rejection of technologically superior even-heat electric ovens. One observer notes the genius of the educational effort as follows:

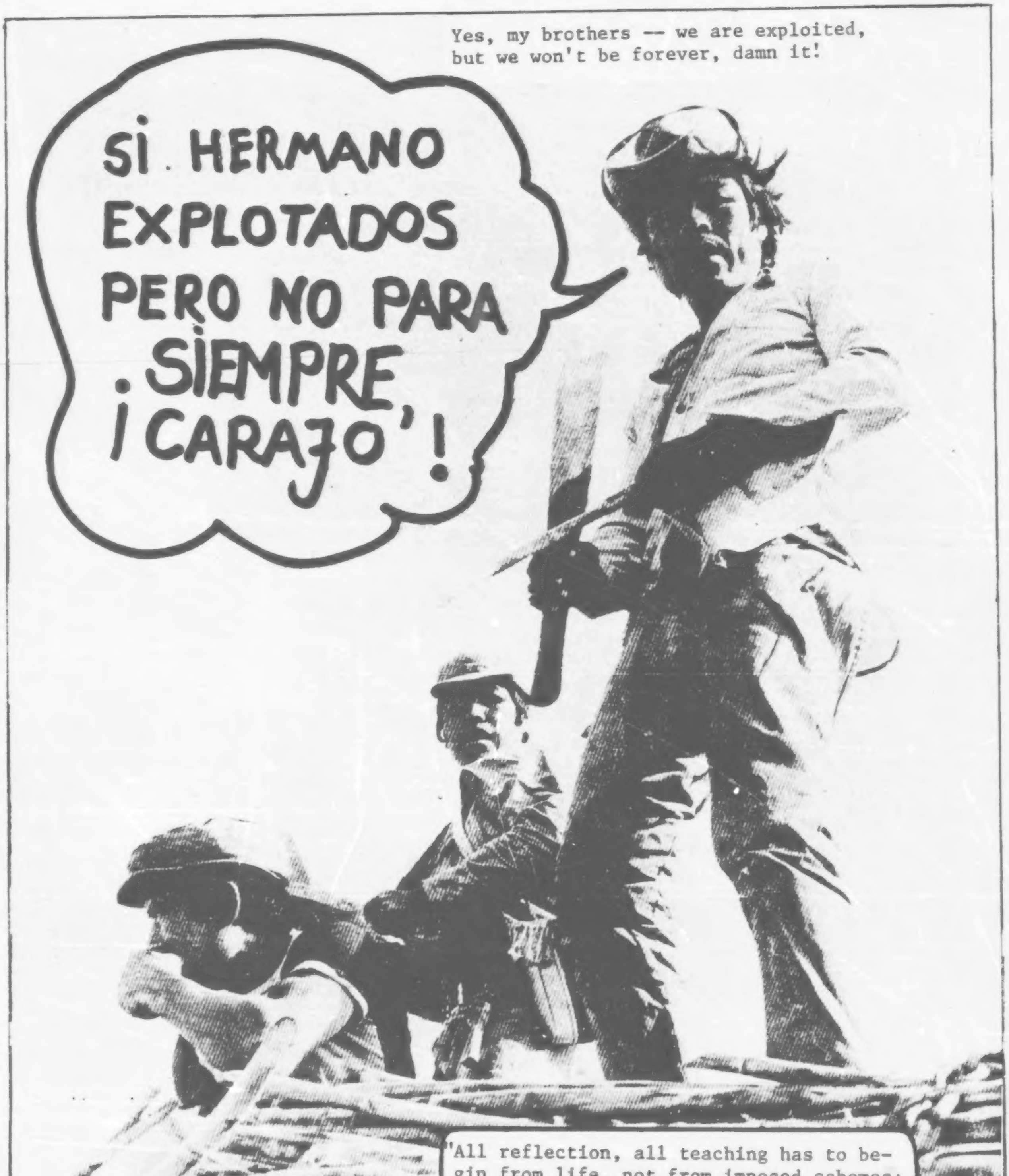
> They have translated ancient Quechua ideals of solidarity and mutual benefit into a working instrument to guide decisions of a financial and technological nature.

The starting point for Ayni Ruway is a deep communication with peasant communities. CRE has a cultural rather than a political focus. The foundation for education and development programs is the strength of traditional institutions. Native technology and social patterns are not regarded as archaic and restrictive. Their revitalization serves to improve the subsistence economy and increase the cohesiveness of Quechua communities. As popular education becomes a catalytic force within the community's experience, alternatives are found to modernization and alienating development models. Ayni Ruway has now spread to over 100 communities and involves over 20,000 people.

The difference between Ayni Ruway and other PEIs in Bolivia is that it does not use the standard CRE rhetoric. It's staff is wary of imposing any Western political and economic concepts on the indigenous cultures of Bolivia. The program is noticeably absent of Freirian jargon. Words like liberation, exploitation, and poverty acquire new meanings when sifted through the Quechua world view. As one worker stated, "The Quechua don't fight poverty; they use it to their advantage!" The Ayni Ruway system is based on a quasi-anthropological CRE theory which grounds all social change activity in Native tradition. Emphases on reciprocal help projects, regional barter (trueque), and mutual aid (ayni) affirm pre-Colombian values and ideas and enhance resistance to foreign development values which are inappropriate to their own system of social organization.

Over 100 local or internal educators effectively control the organizational work of Ayni Ruway, while an external team of 15 staff provides initial input and backup support. Over 75% of the local educators are young Quechua women. This is partly explained by the nature of exchange and handicraft activities which are traditionally women's work and because of the seasonal migration of male workers. Internal educators also spread the method from village to village in missionary-like fashion, thus creating a network of Ayni Ruway cooperants.

The ruway, or system of production and consumption, attempts to increase production, employment, incomes, and access to lower priced consumer goods. All activities promote the Quechua concept of collectivism in the ayni tradition. The non-monetary exchange network in and between communities serves to eliminate middlemen, restore an indigenous economy, and suppress the formation of a privileged strata. Producer communities can exchange goods between diverse ecological zones, often without the the use of cash. Handicraft production is the main generator of cash. Profits from the sale of native crafts in the city and abroad are reinvested in the Ayni Ruway system and in products that cannot be produced on farms and in cottage industry.


Si HERMANO
EXPLOTADOS
PERO NO PARA
SIEMPRE,
¡CARAJO'!

Yes, my brothers -- we are exploited, but we won't be forever, damn it!

APCOB

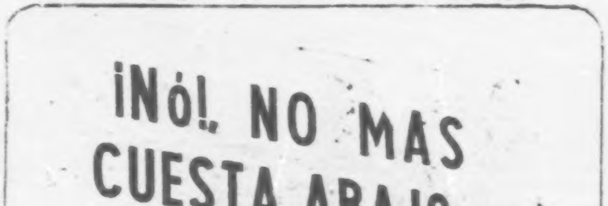
"All reflection, all teaching has to begin from life, not from imposed schemes; the best way to avoid self-deception is to look at life together with others who find themselves in the same situation."

F. Gerace

Tarabuqueño campesinos from the Sucre area.

Quechua women in community meeting.

Poster designed to rally support for a military president in rural areas.


¡Nó!. NO MAS CUESTA ABAJO...
TORRELIO
¡Si...!
PUEDE
CONSTRUIR UN NUEVO DESTINO
¡Pongamos el hombro para salir de la crisis económica!
UN GOBIERNO HONESTO DA CONFIANZA AL PUEBLO

3. IPTK - Training and CRE in a Campesino College

The campus of IPTK dominates the small town of Ocuri in which it is situated. The institute operates on the model of a rural university, serving campesinos and miners in one of the poorest regions of Bolivia. The programs begin with the following rationale:

> We are convinced that true social development in Bolivia will take place when its workers by their own effort reach the levels of consciousness and organization which minimally demand a restoration of their human dignity.

IPTK's main function is offering formal courses to young men and women in the area and backing up this training with short courses in various communities. Technical consultation and applied research favor the organizing of the region's 100,000 marginalized people. The four areas of study at the institute are rural medicine, agriculture, appropriate technology and mining, and public administration. Students, often chosen by their own communities, are boarded at the school for several months. They pay minimum tuition fees. Certificates are granted for completion of each of three successive competency levels.

All programs are infused with strong CRE content to enable students to work towards social change. Theory provided in classrooms is supplemented with collective practical work and an individual practicum experience in the rural areas. The curriculum in each program area encourages young adults to pose questions and reflect on social contradictions. In one session visited, a highly motivated group of health students conducted a special seminar on the history of the Church in popular struggle. They raised critical questions related to the topic, worked in small groups to discuss the issues, and actively engaged the facilitator-resource person.

In the administration program for provincial public officials, commitment is built as students become conscious that their role of service to rural communities includes a war on corruption. The course includes a study of the universal declaration of human rights, the Bolivian constitution, and laws related to agrarian reform and social rights areas.

The institute also maintains strong ties with communities through graduate students and through the continuing education programs in health and agriculture throughout the area. As IPTK conducts workshops, assists with the functioning of fifteen health clinics, and supervises practicum students, it creates good relations with campesinos and miners in the zone. This enables it to help form collective identity and popular organizations at the grassroots level. In 1982, IPTK was able to bring together hundreds of peasants to discuss the critical potato pricing problem and plan strategies to overcome a situation which was causing starvation.

Such activities increase government paranoia regarding IPTK's political formation role. Repression by the military on various occasions suggests the effectiveness of CRE strategies towards strengthening popular power among the rural poor. After arrests and interventions, the institute stated:

> Our constructive insertion among the people of the region has been falsely interpreted as dangerous and subversive activity. The military intervention proved that our work is an unconditional giving of service to the poor people of the region.

There is no doubt that IPTK is a highly visible institution in this part of Bolivia. Some of the opposition from the military officials in the past could also be due to the threat that the institute presents to the town's merchant and transportation class who are better off than campesinos and miners. They resent the access the peasants are now gaining to education and political-economic organizations that increase their strength.

There is some criticism that the students who attend IPTK are not from the poorest sectors of society, but are the sons and daughters of more prosperous elements of the rural working class. Since some degree of literacy, Spanish competency, and public schooling are necessary to the student's adjustment to the highly structured campesino university, the most marginalized peasants may be automatically deselected. Do IPTK graduates end up serving people in isolated villages at 4,000 metres altitude or do they move on to the cities? Can a predominantly urban and middle-class staff effectively relate to a working-class/campesino student body? These and other questions remain for further investigation.

4. The Methodists (IEMB) - Aymara Empowerment through a Rural Extension Program

The CRE experience of the Bolivian Methodist Church is unique. The extension seminary of the denomination in the La Paz area has helped the Aymara Indian membership to gain political rights not only within the Church, but also in the society. The role of CRE has been to awaken in Aymara Methodists a new sense of protest and desire for decision-making control in the Church. This campesino insurgency has meant the demand for a more relevant Christianity which includes the study of the Gospel in the light of Aymara history and culture. As one IEMB Church official described this base movement:

> On all parts of the Altiplano, groups of women, union leaders, and laymen met to articulate Aymara rebellion. The movement affirmed a Gospel incarnate in the reality of a dominated and oppressed Aymara people.

The seminary program, implemented by a training team, has also helped to organize peasants to exert pressure on authorities to obtain minimum health services in deprived rural areas.

The extension seminary which began in the mid- 1970's took a strong CRE approach which has caused a questioning of the economic situation, relations of production, problems of marketing, and cultural domination of the Indians. A theology of liberation guides this popular education movement. The rural empowerment process has recently produced much conflict in the Methodist Church. There was strong urban reaction to the election of the first Aymara Bishop in 1978 and the use of the Aymara language for official Church conference business (with Spanish translation for urban middle-class members). At the height of this conflict, one Aymara delegate to the Church convention stated:

> Brothers, when you [urban, privileged] used to impose your interests as a minority on us a majority, you didn't call this "tyranny",you called it democracy. But now that the majority decides democratically, you call it "tyranny".

The CRE experience of the IEMB extension seminary has had a profound effect on non-Methodist Aymaras as well. The National Federation of Peasants, agrarian union locals, and

and campesino base organizations saw this as a proto-type of liberating education and looked to the Methodists for leadership in a wider process of empowerment. The political impact of this Aymara power movement is noteworthy. Opposition has been precipitated by urban Methodists, conservative rural interests, and military governments. The religious-political agenda of the extension program is reflected in the subjects of rural training programs: "Christian Leadership", "The Bolivian Situation", "History of the Native People", "Peasant Liturgy", etc. A former pastor, involved in the Aymara power movement within the IEMB, illuminated the Aymara controversy in his denomination when he pointed out: "Once you allow people to think for themselves, you'd better be careful, because they might turn on you".

The impact outside the Church is best summarized in the words of a union organizer who agreed that the Methodist experience showed the whole society how "the class, status, and power pyramid in Bolivia could be inverted in favor of the marginal masses!" It would be interesting to know if Methodist Aymaras are over-represented in positions of leadership in agrarian protest movements, in relationship to their proportion of the total population. Also, do Methodists act as "individuals" in their political work and union activity, or as "Church representatives"?

It can be concluded that CRE programs of this type have considerable potential for consolidating a base of local leadership for popular organizations outside the strictly religious realm. The IEMB experience stands in sharp contrast to the other Protestant or Evangelical Churches in Bolivia which have opted for a "neutral" theology which shuns involvement in CRE and political action. The Methodists, along with the Catholic left, constitute what Freire calls a "prophetic Church".

> The educational role of the prophetic Church must be totally different from that of other Churches. ... Education must be an instrument of transforming action, as a political praxis at the service of permanent human liberation. (1973: 15)

Aymara women participate in political education program on the Altiplano.

5. ACLO - Women's Liberation in a Traditional Society

ACLO is a large, Church-sponsored PEI in the Southern departments of Bolivia. ACLO delivers an integrated program to help peasants overcome their economic, cultural, and political dependence. A tremendous array of activities and inputs gives it high visibility and impact potential among Quechua Indians of the region. Agricultural training programs for literate campesinos use a combination of radio broadcasting, village workshops, centralized training courses, and literature distribution. Participants are upgraded to three progressive technical levels.

CRE content is liberally spread throughout all ACLO programs under the term "liberating education" (educación liberadora). All programs are concentrated on overcoming the campesino community's poverty through skill development, organization, self-reliance, and co-operative economic action. Most courses are designed to reinforce a critical perspective on Bolivian society and provide avenues for social change. For example, the monthly newspaper En Marcha (In Progress) frequently reports peasant opinions, ideas, and letters of protest. Actual experiences in organizing and acting to change local situations are continuously published as well.

Most of the campesino participants in ACLO programs are men. However, ACLO has a department of Feminine Promotion which takes seriously its mandate to liberate not only the peasant, but the peasant woman. Exploited as Indians by the dominant Bolivian society, and discriminated against by a male-dominated, traditional society, Quechua women have become receptive to CRE which advocates basic human rights. Women's organizations are emerging with the help of ACLO in many Quechua communities. Women are beginning to realize that they have been denied social rights. They are asking, "Why did we never have an opportunity to go to school, while our brothers did?" With such critical consciousness, women are also realizing the contributions they can make to development in their communities. In 1981, in Chuquisaca alone, ACLO organized over 1000 women from 30 different villages into various clubs and action projects.

Campesino women are now more aware of what work exploitation means in their context. As one campesino representative described her new-found awareness:

> Women in the countryside work hard. We work with our fathers and husbands in the harvest, in the planting, and in the selling of products. If we have children, we have to care for them and educate them. We have to do all the house work -- cook, clean, care for sheep. We make clothes. This is enough! And most often we are never appreciated for our efforts.

The ACLO goal is not only to extend the opportunities for women to participate in popular education, economic projects, and organizations in the community without discrimination, but also to improve the status of women in the society and to increase their self-esteem. CRE endeavours to help the male participants in ACLO programs to appreciate the responsibilities and rights of their wives and mothers in the development of their communities. The notion of "machismo" is at least questioned through CRE programs of this type.

ACLO's work includes the promotion of activities which enable oppressed peasant women to become active agents of concrete social change efforts. Artisan and handicraft development, health and nutrition training, literacy, communal storage projects, club formation, and participation with men in co-operatives and community action projects which affect them and their families are major directions taken by Feminine Promotion. The base women's clubs discuss issues and concerns and engage in economic production activities. They may also elect representatives to attend training courses and return to the village to work with the local membership. This serves to lessen dependence on ACLO staff.

In one women's club meeting in a new village contacted by ACLO, the PEI animateur spoke about an organized ant colony to stimulate the women to think about what they could accomplish if they worked together. Speaking in Quechua, she concluded, "We can do the same as the ants. But we are different from the ants because we can think and do something to change our situation for the better." A discussion followed in which the women were asked to express their opinions and ideas. Because of the newness of this experience, few responded and participated. In subsequent club meetings, more women would likely participate as confidence increased and priorities for organizing and acting could be gradually developed in line with their own needs and aspirations. It is interesting that there was some reluctance on the part of the men in this traditional village to have their daughters and wives go to Sucre for leadership training. The ACLO staff members present took a conciliatory approach to the sensitive topic, but did not try to force a solution to the issue. Since women's rights grow slowly within the traditional culture, over-reliance on ACLO might be common in the beginning stages of women's club organizing. Trained female staff members are essential in dealing with the difficulties that arise in promoting women's rights.

6. Pio XII - Building Campesino Awareness and Trust Relationships

Pio XII is a small PEI located in the impoverished mining area of Potosi. The radio operated by the Catholic Church since 1959 and the more recent popular education team have consistently upheld the rights and interests of workers in this region. Because of the strong liberationist tendency and a general atmosphere of political dissent in the mining community, Pio XII has placed its resources into practical improvement projects and organizing activities that have a strong political CRE component. Recent political turmoil in Bolivia has resulted in repression against the radio and its staff to the point where urban work with miners was discontinued and rural work with peasants substantially revamped.

The most intriguing thing about Pio XII is its excellent rapport with campesinos in the region who rely on its services. The miners' union and campesino organizations of the region tried to pressure the government to allow the radio and its team to operate freely after its 1980 closure, stating: "The radio station is considered as if it were our own, because of its identification and long history in favor of the miners and campesinos in the North of Potosi!" The strong public support for this PEI attests to its importance in the lives of the poor. CRE impact has been considerable over the years, although at the time of the research the institution was still cautious and low key in its political thrust. With the radio still out of service, CRE was provided mainly through community animation and mimeographed publications.

Since 1967, Pio XII has employed a team of mobile promoters whose main educational activities have been agricultural training, women's promotion, literacy, co-operativism, and Native revitalization. CRE has generally been conveyed by a radical interpretation of the social doctrines of the Catholic Church. Radio programs on human rights, justice, and organizational themes are applicable to the context of poverty and dependency in which the local people find themselves. Radio broadcasts are interpreted and expanded by the ten-person promotion team which conducts practical programs and CRE in 40 communities of Aymara and Quechua inhabitants.

Perhaps more important than the actual courses of co-operative accounting, animal care, and nutrition is the manner in which the Pio XII staff relate to the rural men and women who participate in the programs. Popular educators tell of having to walk on backroads to maintain contact with certain communities after the radio station closure and the blacklisting of team members from use of the main roads. The trust built between the peasants and the PEI can be attributed in large part to staff dedication and commitment. A five-day course in consumer co-operative accounting held in a small village indicates the horizontal relations typical of Pio XII interactions with peasants. The staff spoke in both Aymara and Quechua in consideration of the linguistic needs of the 30 participants. They encouraged the participation of women in the course and used a variety of methods to involve both men and women in the educational process. Socio-dramas, story-telling, joke sessions, political discussions, cartoons, and student-led groups were used as ways of motivating learners. The three staff members spoke about "living with and learning from the people" and demonstrated this respect continuously. Local leaders were drawn out and given responsibilities in the course, with stronger students often helping weaker ones. In such a group context, CRE was more optimally communicated.

Pio XII often trains leaders to work as key contacts and facilitators in the local programs. All local leaders are involved in the PEI's yearly planning of activities which are certain to affect their villages. When political conditions are appropriate, the programs are expanded to develop and strengthen base unionism in rural areas. Peasants are encouraged to organize on their own terms, around their own interests, and with their own leadership. The team members and the local peasants are aware of the dangers of indiscriminate organizing. They recognize the possibilities of corruption, manipulation, and domination of grassroots organizations by opportunists. CRE helps the peasants to trust their own capabilities to work together and build class solidarity and Native pride. By working in defense of communities and stressing horizontal interactions, Pio XII's impact is increased.

7. CAIM - Economic Justice through Membership Control of Decision Making

For CAIM, a multi-purpose co-operative of colonists in Santa Cruz, CRE has meant a gradual development of self-confidence and power. Experts agree that cooperatives fail principally because of lack of member education. Too often what passes for co-operative education is the occasional lecture on vague and idealistic co-operative concepts. As one educator remarked: "Memorizing co-operative principles and ideas is not co-operative education!" CRE is a way for local memberships to practically capture the meaning of democratic and communal economic development. Through involvement in the day-to-day work of growing, harvesting, and marketing, the peasant members of CAIM have learned that co-operativism is a potent instrument of social change and justice. One peasant member expressed his growing awareness as follows: "I am learning that my own betterment comes from the struggle for the betterment of the rest". Participants work together on common projects and solve practical problems together. The Freirian reflection-action model gives shape to the CAIM educational process. For this to take place optimally, participation of the base membership in all aspects of the organization is essential.

CAIM's success has to do with its internal structure which challenges its membership of 200 rice farmers in 12 branches to "take control". The branches are run almost entirely by the local membership which has adopted a participatory decision-making policy. Experience comes from handling their own money and taking responsibility for local management of production and marketing. Affiliate branches hold regular monthly meetings in which all members can raise concerns and decide by consensus. Administrative personnel are chosen in yearly democratic elections, with overlapping terms of office assuring a continuous flow of new campesino involvement in key leadership offices. New projects arise from the base membership and not from out-of-touch hired administrators. CRE through participation has resulted in a pervasive spirit of _cooperativismo_ which is characterized by a strong belief in the economic welfare of all members, unity, and common struggle.

CAIM is less politicized than many mining co-operatives in Bolivia. But, so far, it has been able to promote aggressive organizing and action towards economic justice, without resorting to more confrontational tactics. The political consequences of CAIM's economic action has caused some frictions with the agro-business elite over land tenure disputes. One observer reports that with CAIM's leadership, peasants were able to win important land cases, sometimes after protracted battles that involved sending delegates to La Paz. In the light of these occasional conflicts with the powerful agro-oligarchy, it is possible that a more forceful reaction from cotton, rice, and sugar growers would further conscienticize the CAIM membership as to its rights -- perhaps even increasing its militancy.

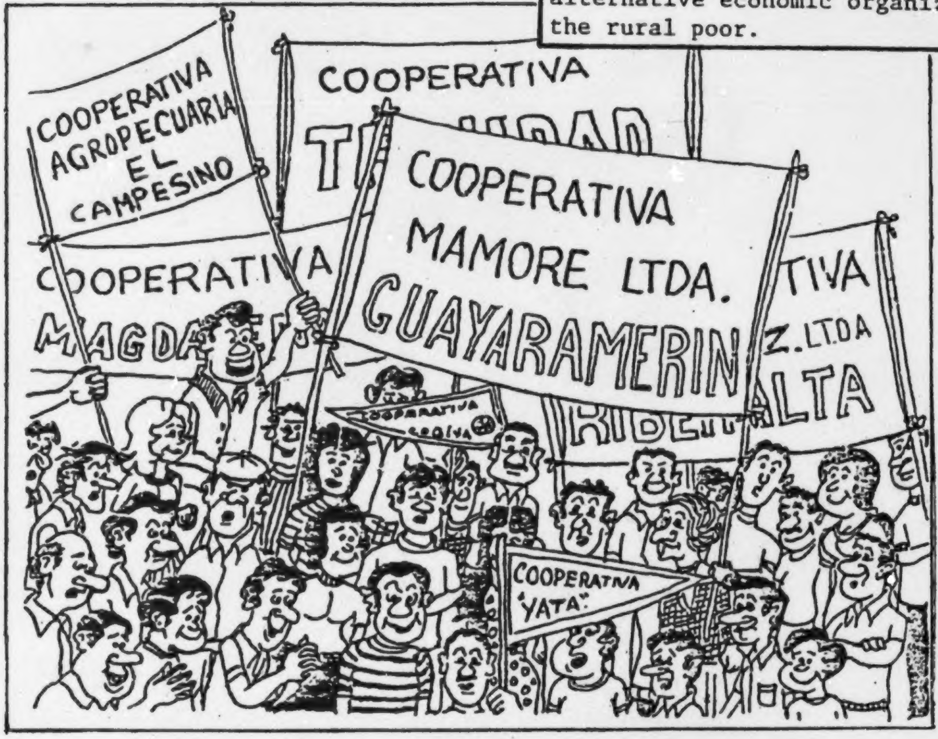
On the other hand, CAIM works to improve harmonious relations with all sectors in the area where it functions. It allows non co-operative members to benefit from betterprices.(Any local small growers can sell their rice at its mill). It also uses its grader for road maintenance in the area. All of these sound public relations efforts increase the credibility of the co-op and perhaps postpone a backlash from a conservative agro-elite.

Because of effective CRE, campesinos cling steadfastly to the goals of equal welfare and opt for labor intensive agricultural projects, even though the result is that profit margins are less optimal than if the co-operative was to bring in more mechanization. More efficient methods of production are sacrificed for social justice considerations. Economic progress in social terms is favored by an aware base membership which finds its socio-economic status only moderately improved from pre co-operative days. An observer concludes:

> CAIM is committed to help provide the many agricultural peons of the area with land of their own, and to create an equitable system of agricultural production and commercialization.

Despite the risky economic conditions facing them, a few co-ops use popular education to increase member autonomy and promote economic justice. CAIM has been most successful in this regard.

The cooperative movement offers an alternative economic organization to the rural poor.


COOPERATIVA AGROPECUARIA EL CAMPESINO
COOPERATIVA
COOPERATIVA MAMORE LTDA. GUAYARAMERIN
COOPERATIVA MAGDA
TIVA Z. LTDA ALTA
COOPERATIVA "YATA"

Equipos Mobiles

8. ERBOL - Radio Basic Education for Social Development

ERBOL is a network of a dozen Church-supported radio stations in Bolivia committed to liberating education and social change. The stations use distance education to deliver a variety of programs to peasants in all areas. Literacy (alfabetización) and adult basic education are conducted in conjunction with print resources, trained community promoters, and visiting PEI staff. ERBOL has been able to provide leadership in alternative rural literacy during its 14 year history in Bolivia. Most affiliated stations have favored CRE and the Freirian psycho-social methodology in order to achieve their goal of "transforming unjust structures". ERBOL's promotional literature states:

> Our method begins with an understanding of the knowledge, concerns, and problems of the people and goes on to aid them in taking account of their rights and obligations, making them advocates of their own development.

Perhaps because of questions regarding program effectiveness, the early emphasis on literacy training (1967 - 77) shifted to basic education in evangelism, agriculture, and the promotion of women, with the purpose of stimulating critical reflection on Bolivian society. This shift was justified for the following reason:

> Literacy itself is not sufficient to raise the level of life of people if at the same time, the factors causing underdevelopment and dependency are not attacked.

Since 1978, ERBOL has sought new ways of deepening its Christian commitment of service to the most needy Bolivians. The result is a reorientation towards greater CRE content and process. Participation in community projects is mobilized by radio and supported by technical training, leadership training, and political education. Study and action help to elevate the level of economic income and the cultural aspirations of the Indian poor. Basic education is seen as "educational action". Where possible, CRE is integrated with programs ranging from history and co-operativism to unionism and religious education. In most cases, radio programs are supplemented with direct promoter and staff animation. The implicit CRE potential of a program discussing the role of women as mothers, workers, and community members will only be fully developed through skilled facilitation around the theme of women's rights.

One of the ERBOL affiliates in Santa Cruz (IRFA) works through radio programming to deliver accelerated basic education which enables adults to obtain diplomas up to the intermediate school level. With a goal of "exalting the dignity of the person", IRFA goes beyond the transfer of knowledge recommended by the government curriculum and touches on certain CRE themes as well. Although quite unassuming politically, the IRFA literacy program has potential for the ongoing social and political development of campesino listeners. For example, an adult Grade 3 social studies lesson entitled, "Today We Wish to Be Free" speaks about the challenge of love and justice. It concludes, "To be free, it is necessary to combat hunger, the lack of housing, machismo, and ignorance!" Other units dealing with religious education (eg."The Church of the Poor") are open to exploration and critical reflection when linked directly to group discussions which can be well animated by local promoters (or maestro gias). The Grade 8 social science curriculum contains such themes as "Forms of Government" and "The Rights and Obligations of Citizens" which lend themselves to CRE. However, the lack of skilled and politically astute maestro guias, coupled with the under-utilization of a group study-reflection format at the village level, reduces the impact of political education. During tense political periods, certain commercial radio stations in contract with IRFA have been reluctant to broadcast topics related to the campesino's struggle for rights. Stations may criticize the "non-neutrality" of such programs, or may fear retaliation from reactionary political forces (such as para-military gangs) for broadcasting politically sensitive lessons produced by IRFA.

Some workers in the ERBOL programs believe that CRE can be naturally and meaningfully communicated in regular literacy and numeracy classes without relying on overt CRE content. For example, peasants in one village which received the radio programs were motivated to learn mathematics so they would not continue to be exploited by unscrupulous middlemen during marketing transactions. This initial awareness provided a concrete point of entry for a rather technical math program, as well as further CRE. Again, only if local promoters continue to support the problem-posing and solving process, can CRE have significant impact on the radio learners.

Psycho-social literacy by radio has been criticized by some for its less than optimal results in terms of imparting reading and writing skills to adults. For peasants who have little material to read in their impoverished culture, the technical transfer of literacy skills is a difficult business. More research is urgently needed to verify that combining literacy efforts with socio-political themes and dialogical learning will enhance the attainment of technical reading and writing skills. By priorizing the attainment of CRE goals, radio PEIs uniquely redefine "literacy" as "learning to read the Bolivian reality and write a new, just Bolivian history!"

9. APCOB - Combining Ethnic Solidarity with Economic Development

APCOB works with tribal peoples in the Eastern part of Bolivia, promoting social and economic development. By adhering to an anthropological frame of reference, APCOB activates community groups which request help in preserving cultural solidarity while pursuing economic development goals. Popular education programs include skill training and co-operative action projects aimed at benefiting entire communities. APCOB tries to respect indigenous leadership patterns and acts as a broker between the dominant society and tribal groups unprepared to deal with urban institutions to gain land titles, government services, or credit for agricultural improvements.

APCOB's main effort is focused on the Guarani people in Santa Cruz. It has helped to form an indigenous transportation and marketing co-operative in order to break the monopoly of exploitative middlemen. It has also worked with the Guarani to develop an alternative to the yearly migration of men and families out of the community to work in the sugar cane harvest. The exploitative nature of this labor relationship has been the subject of APCOB research and organizing. Because the migratory labor pattern is a response to Guarani debt accumulation in the hazardous agricultural economy of their dry, marginal farming zone, the development of a stronger economic base is crucial to a permanent solution. The pattern of migratory labor, coupled with the sub-human conditions of work facing many cane harvesters (zafreros), has provided a CRE focus to much of APCOB's organizing.

Action research by APCOB anthropologists records the experience of Guarani economic exploitation in the sugar cane harvest. This is published in popular ethnographies. The results of the research are returned to the people in an easily understood print form which includes photographs and caricatures. The goal of such publications is to increase awareness and build popular organizations of self-defense. APCOB is also well known for its cultural CRE which attempts to increase Guarani and Ayoreo Indian knowledge of their own history and traditions at a time when they are in danger of losing their cultural roots completely. As anthropologists learn more about these hunting and gathering and neo-agricultural peoples, the accumulated information is written into popular histories and folk collections. This work promotes tribal pride and solidarity. Handicrafts, poetry, art, myths, and life histories are researched and returned to the subjects themselves, and later to other Bolivians who have limited appreciation and understanding of the Eastern tribal peoples. The APCOB team is also committed to the educational value of bringing diverse groups of indigenous people together for the exchange of ideas:

> APCOB thinks that each peasant, each community, has an experience, an idea, a word to say and share with their brothers and sisters.

CRE is explicit in the cultural awareness work and also in the economic projects facilitated among Guaranis. One PEI staff member remarked, "These people know the meaning of oppression and injustice. What they need are some concrete alternatives to overcome what they have experienced for many years." From group discussions, led by indigenous leaders, new economic ideas are debated, communal improvement projects considered, and independent decisions made to act in constructive ways. The marketing project among the Guaranis has helped the small producers see how common struggle can overcome exploitation. Similarly, with increased consciousness of the negative impact of the cane harvest (zafra) on their communities and families, the Guaranis are beginning to come to grips with ways of avoiding the cycle of debt, migration, and reserve labor peonage. The "photo stories" developed by APCOB staff help the campesinos expose the injustices they face and orient themselves towards greater self reliance. (See photo on page 73b.)

Eastern tribal groups have less of a settled agrarian history and tradition of common struggle than the highland Quechuas and Aymaras. Small numbers and weak land tenure patterns in the vast Santa Cruz plains and jungles have left the tribal peoples fragmented, vulnerable to exploitation, and disoriented. APCOB has found many of its education-action interventions in these transitional cultures to be problematic, complex, and frustrating, despite its successes.

10. CIPCA - Empowerment Through Economic Action

CIPCA is a Catholic PEI that works in various parts of the country in a variety of popular education programs. Its focus is economic development through small productive groups. Interested peasants contribute labor and portions of land for co-operative work projects. Agricultural production is integrated with technical training, credit assistence, political formation, and base organizing. The CRE input is aimed at altering the attitudes of campesinos so they are able to act collectively to solve rural problems. Creating awareness of the causes of poverty is primary to CIPCA's social change interventions.

CIPCA is heavily involved in investigation into the rural problematic. It produces and disseminates academic and popular publications which have a critical perspective on the Bolivian society. These popular publications, suitable for campesino readers, include such topics as Native history, human rights, cultural defense, and organizing strategies. In addition, many technical agricultural guide booklets for a campesino readership are distributed.

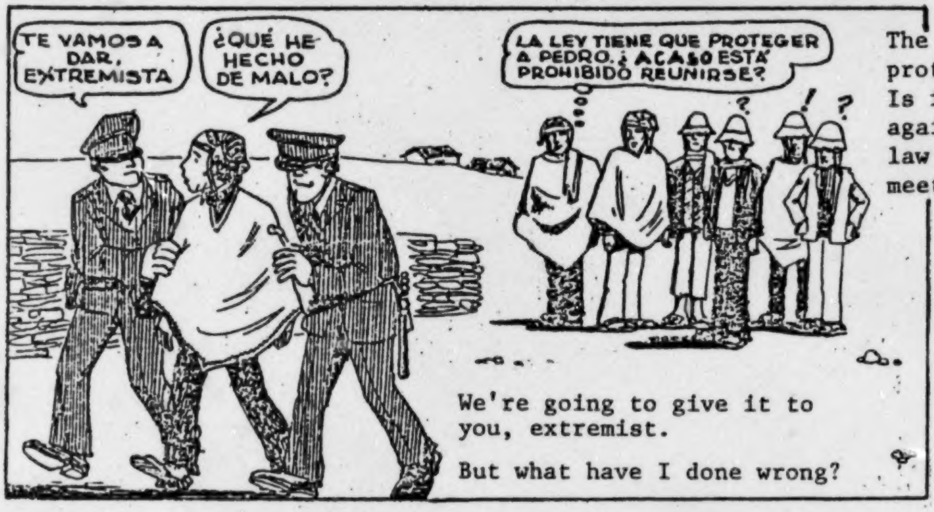
The ideology of CIPCA, like that of other Christian liberationist institutions, demands a constant effort to analyze critically and provide alternatives to the exploitative situation of campesinos. Participation and empowerment are promoted in line with the social Gospel. The CRE efforts of CIPCA have given rise to new popular organizations such as women's groups, co-operatives, production associations, and pressure groups of peasants dedicated to the attainment of social and economic rights. Existing base groups are reinforced as well. A CIPCA staff person remarked that the institution's goal is to "increase the strength of the peasants to dialogue effectively with whoever is in power". As a result, there is an emphasis on integrated programs of technical training, political education, and community organizing. The key social groupings which act as a vehicle for CIPCA rural development work are called "Communal Work Units".

CIPCA personnel are often concerned that the economic projects will not overshadow the CRE task of organization building. Hence, economic profitability is not a good indicator of PEP success, unless popular power creation and attitudinal change also result. In Eastern Bolivia, CIPCA projects may succeed economically, but often participants fail to construct a base for economic and political solidarity. Staff hope to avoid the situation where individuals become small capitalists who end up "exploiting their own neighbours". In the highland regions, where agriculture is much more precarious because of numerous constraints, economic profitability is less likely, but CRE is often more fully developed as peasants pull together in communal base groups which reinforce power from the bottom. The ideal is profitability and popular power together, but this is not always a consequence of CIPCA's programs.

CIPCA does not try to train and cultivate local-level leadership in the same way as other PEIs. They prefer to work with entire communities and community sub-groups, being careful to affirm existing leaders. Some staff members expressed the danger of dividing peasant communities with projects that represent only a portion of the population and perhaps utilize leaders which compete with traditional and popular organizational leaders.

During the recent period of Bolivian elections (1978 - 1980), CIPCA was able to animate political education among campesinos wrestling with the complexity of candidates, parties, and platforms. This dialogue around the electoral process was effective in creating awareness about the political scene in general and served to mobilize a strong anti-military sentiment in rural areas. Perhaps the severe repression felt by the institution after the coup was a result of its non-formal CRE which grew naturally out of the open space for dialogue created by the three elections. By remaining somewhat non-partisan during the electoral campaigns, CIPCA received criticism of being "non-committed" to the campesinos, but in actuality, its stance was respected by popular rural groups, and its credibility was enhanced. One member of the team remarked, "The people realized that we didn't deceive or manipulate them and they respected us for our position".

The decline of military strength in rural Bolivia in recent years might be attributed in part to CRE as elaborated by PEIs like CIPCA. The areas where political education was most effective appear to be the same areas where campesinos voted more solidly for popular socialist and reform parties in sucsessive elections. CRE was probably intensified by the Aymara campesino's first-hand experience with military brutality and corruption. It can be speculated that CIPCA's innovative program might have played an important role in helping peasants to reflect on their experiences and better understand the alternatives available for increasing their power and political participation in the Bolivian society.

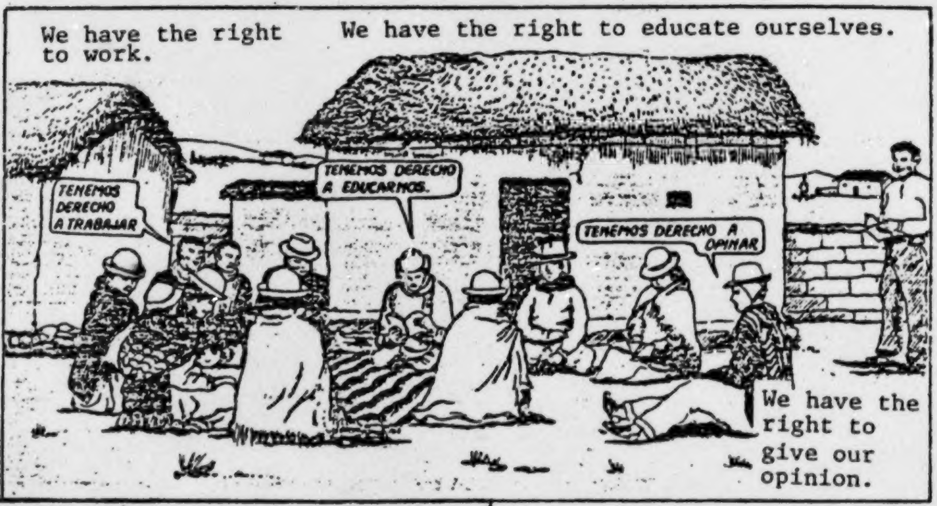

TE VAMOS A DAR, EXTREMISTA
¿QUÉ HE HECHO DE MALO?
LA LEY TIENE QUE PROTEGER A PEDRO. ¿ACASO ESTÁ PROHIBIDO REUNIRSE?
?
!
?

We're going to give it to you, extremist.

But what have I done wrong?

The law must protect Pedro. Is it really against the law to hold meetings?

CIPCA


TENEMOS DERECHO A TRABAJAR
TENEMOS DERECHO A EDUCARNOS.
TENEMOS DERECHO A OPINAR

We have the right to work.

We have the right to educate ourselves.

We have the right to give our opinion.

CIPCA

Popular education advocates human rights for Bolivian peasants.

"Adult education is always part of a political enterprise. Involving adults in a process of learning makes them participants in the building of society and whether we like it or not, this process has built into it, consciously or unconsciously, a political ideal. Adult educators are advocates of a political vision."

G. Baum

VII. Issues in BOLIVIAN POPULAR EDUCATION

A. Consciousness-Raising Education and Social Change

In this section, CRE will be discussed in the light of various problems and issues related to education and social change. Bolivian PEIs must deal with the problems and contradictions inherent in the delivery of alternate forms of adult education.

1. Micro VS. Macro Social Change

Most popular education strategies attempt to relate concrete, micro-level goals to abstract, macro-level goals. The building of a storage facility, the training of leaders, and the implementation of a marketing co-op must be linked to such prospective outcomes as liberation, structural transformation, and the vision of a new person in a new society. In the words of Huidobro:

> In a strategy of change, a difficult synthesis must take place between a structural analysis of a macro-social scale and an analysis of the concrete situation which the project and the popular sectors are confronted with. (1981: 46)

The linking mechanism in most PEPs is CRE. The challenge for CRE is to combine the micro and the macro in a coherent fashion. On the one hand, there is a danger of over-emphasizing a macro-analysis, apart from a meaningful concrete reality. On the other hand, a danger exists of becoming overwhelmed in day-to-day activism, without linking local change to the wider political context. The solution seems to be to link local projects to on-going analysis and to broad-based organizations which expand change efforts. A wider base of agrarian political action will hasten progress toward collective power attainment. Barndt notes that local PEPs utilize CRE to move towards macro-level change:

> The conscientization process is seen as more critical if based in personal experiences, connected to broader social issues, and supported by or leading to structural changes. (1981: 177)

Some critics of PEPs take the position that mini projects have limited impact potential. They strongly doubt if a single intervention at the local level can contribute to a transformed society and maintain that PEIs place too much faith in local people to overcome the complex restraints to development. It is proper to ask whether minimal outside PEI inputs and micro-level, self-reliance strategies are enough to significantly impact the social order. Thomas La Belle expresses his skepticism of any narrow "psychological" approach which expects too much from rural communities. Entire social systems must be considered and many components of the development dilemma must be identified and acted upon in a wholistic, integrated way:

> Although it may be good to be literate or to be critical of one's reality, and both may have long term benefits, such efforts in the short term are as likely to lead to frustration as they are to more decision-making power or increased socio-economic status. Without inputs like jobs, credit, and organization in a supportive social and bio-physical environment, new behaviors learned in non-formal programs have little impact on participants and they become mere tokens in the presence of an individual's real life conditions. (1976: 345)

Advocates of CRE are aware of the contradiction involved in calling for macro-level structural transformation, while only working in micro-level change projects. Kindervatter notes the dilemma faced by Bolivian PEIs:

> Mini-transformations may deflect people's attention from the need for system-wide change. Thus, a dilemma exists: whether to work for system-wide change directly and possibly see no immediate change in people's lives or whether to work for system-wide change through numerous mini-transformations which do create changes in people's lives, but may not lead to more basic and necessary change. (1979: 65)

Despite these critiques of micro-level impacts, PEIs in Bolivia remain somewhat optimistic that small changes will prove valuable. As PEPs give rise to improvements and as a sense of power is enhanced, local CRE and concrete projects are believed to positively change the poor. Success breeds success. Collective benefits motivate peasants to consolidate greater control over their lives. Ever widening circles of participation attest to positive social change, even though structural transformation cannot be claimed as a PEP outcome. Yet, realistic PEIs painfully recognize that greater impact depends on wider linkages. As Robert White notes:

> ...there has to be support ...from many different agencies which provide resources with which increased motivation can work and accompany structural change. (Niehoff, 1977: 222)

2. CRE VS. Technical, Functional Adult Education

With the difficulty of readily attaining structural change goals, micro-level improvements may be vigorously pursued in PEPs. Most PEIs offer both CRE and technical education because rural participants seem to demand both inputs. It is often difficult to assess whether practical, technical projects are more widely demanded and well received than other PEPs. Because CRE is less readily perceived as an educational need, it is generally given a lower profile and integrated with functional projects. This way, PEIs can keep both micro and macro change goals within their PEP focus.

CRE is essential if PEIs are to remain loyal to their philosophical mandate; but practical education is necessary to help peasants attain more immediate improvements. Observers generally agree that the two functions cannot be separated. When economic projects are considered to be the most practical and motivating for peasant participants, popular educators will begin with these, rather than forcing more risky political action projects. Local economic projects are an effective vehicle for awareness building and organization strengthening. Economic issues for the peasant are invariably grounded in politics, hence will give rise to CRE and action when campesinos are ready to mobilize around specific interests.

In disagreement with many critics, Green believes that CRE is a valid form of adult education and cannot be rejected or trivialized because it does not seem very "technical".

> Consciousness and organization are as critical as specific skills ... Vocational and liberal are a false dichotomy; skills are necessary, but they include skill at analysis, organization, and mobilization, as well as tilling the soil. (1976: 57)

Freire suggests that critical awareness and political consciousness are the highest goals of any adult education program. Yet, pragmatic programmers in PEIs recognize that CRE cannot be accepted as a panacea for curing the ills of the poor.

> Freire's peasants, if they ever got the land and water they need, would also need to learn about conserving and fertilizing it, about marketing and keeping accounts. (Dore; 1975: 136)

Popular educators are concerned that an over emphasis on functional, technical adult education will increase the likelihood that a critical structural perception will remain dormant in the campesino learner. Yet, although technical and practical PEPs will generally take second priority to CRE, these same educators know that they cannot be ignored. Instead, a balance in programming must be struck, with CRE recognized for what it is and upheld as the key educational component. As Smith reminds us:

> Concientizacion is not a technique for information-transfer or even for skill training; it is a dialogical process which brings individuals together to solve common existential problems. These problems are related to the socio-political conditions of the individuals involved in the educational process. (1976: 3)

3. Political Commitment VS. Neutrality in CRE

CRE and its meaning for popular education is reflected in the materials used by PEIs and global education groups. Although global adult educators often proclaim a "political neutrality" in their programs and criticize PEIs for the overt political content of their CRE materials, it immediately becomes obvious upon examination of global materials that they too are "political", although more subtly so. Bolivian PEIs believe that washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful and not to be neutral. Popular educators often impress this idea upon global educators who are in the habit of criticizing them.

The print materials of both popular and global educators reflect their value commitments. Because a literacy text attributes poverty to defects in the individual, rather than social system failures, does not mean that a non-political stance is being assumed by its writers. Similarly, because social mobility is portrayed in individualistic terms, rather than in terms of collective struggle by people who share a common predicament in life, does not mean that value neutrality is being communicated. Which materials are commitment free?

On the basis of a content analysis of a variety of literacy print materials used in popular and global basic education programs, certain patterns were identified which have implications for social and political change in the Bolivian context. Figure 4 summarizes these patterns under the categories of CRE (popular) and Non-CRE (global).

Figure 4 - Content Analysis of Print Materials

Content Treatment	CRE	Non-CRE
Themes	Conflict/criticism Life problematized	Harmony/acceptance Life idealized
Causes of Poverty (blame)	Structural injustice Lack of rights Blame the system	Individual defects Lack of skill or morality; Blame the person
Solutions to Poverty	Social morality Clean up system Act politically	Personal morality Clean up person Act righteously
Type of Action Req'd.	Collective action to change society	Individual action to improve self
Attitude Required	Anger and desire to struggle to change reality	Acceptance and patience to live with reality
Basic Messages	Confrontation and activism are good Demand your power and rights	Passivity and ajustment are good Be content with what you have

Next, a few examples from the texts of basic literacy primers will be given to further discriminate between CRE and Non-CRE orientations. Figure 5 shows that popular and global literacy programs strongly influence the kind of message that is conveyed to peasant users. The kinds of things a person should learn and the attitudes a participant should take towards life situations are indirectly (and sometimes directly) communicated in many literacy curriculum materials. CRE and Non-CRE textbooks (cartillas) cannot be regarded as value free or non-political when the examples are more critically examined. Both orientations reflect value positions and political attitudes which are decoded after the examples given.

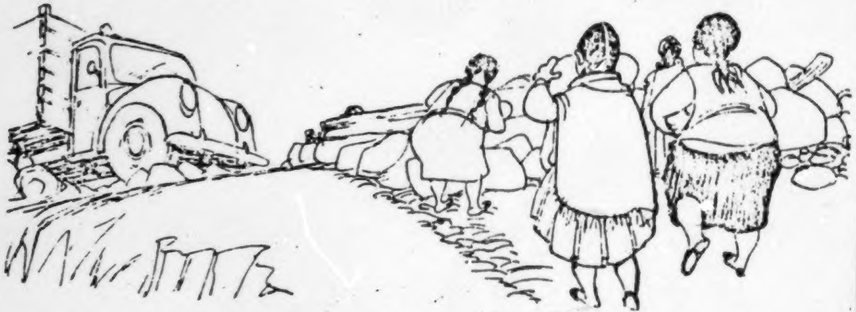
Figure 5 - Excerpts from Bolivian Popular and Global Literacy Textbooks

CRE EXCERPTS	Non-CRE EXCERPTS
"Rene is a poor campesino who has a plot of land so small that he can't even feed his family. Do you live like this too?" (Rural society problematized)	"My house is poor, but it is good. My house is poor, but I like it. I like my garden and the animals in the corral." (Rural society idealized)
"Many people take advantage of the campesinos, paying little for our products and work. We must demand that they treat us better!" (The peasant is exploited and must act to change reality)	"The peasants are skilled agriculturalists. With oxen and tractor they will open the furrows of a better future!" (The peasant is progressing and must accept reality)
"Pablo works his land with with plow and oxen. Each year he gets poorer because he works alone. He says, 'Why don't we work together?'" (Peasants must organize and work with others to overcome poverty)	"I am a poor working man. But I am a good man with honor. I work for my children and family. I work hard!" (Campesinos must work hard as individuals to overcome their poverty)
"We must fight for our rights along side the men." (Women have a role to play in the liberation of peasants as an exploited class)	"My wife helps me on the farm and God blesses our daily toil." (Women must perform domestic duties to support their husbands and cope with rural poverty)

Finally, to illustrate the value orientations and political undercurrents found in popular and global literacy cartillas, some examples of sketches used in representative print sources are presented in Figure 6 on the following page. As in Figure 5 above, an attempt will be made at decoding and interpreting the communications in the CRE and Non-CRE examples. The most important question readers may ask in reviewing each illustration is -- Which materials seem most politically indoctrinating?

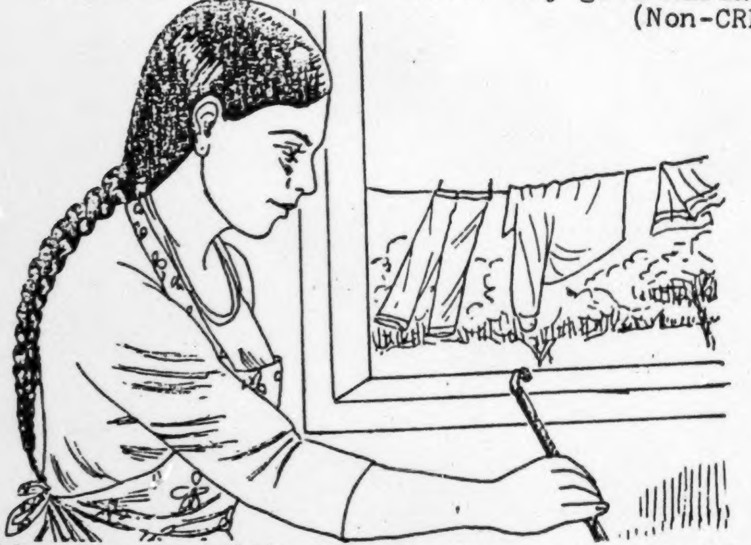
Figure 6 - Illustrations of CRE and Non-CRE Literacy Materials

#1 - "When the company didn't pay attention to us, we blocked all the roads!" (CRE)



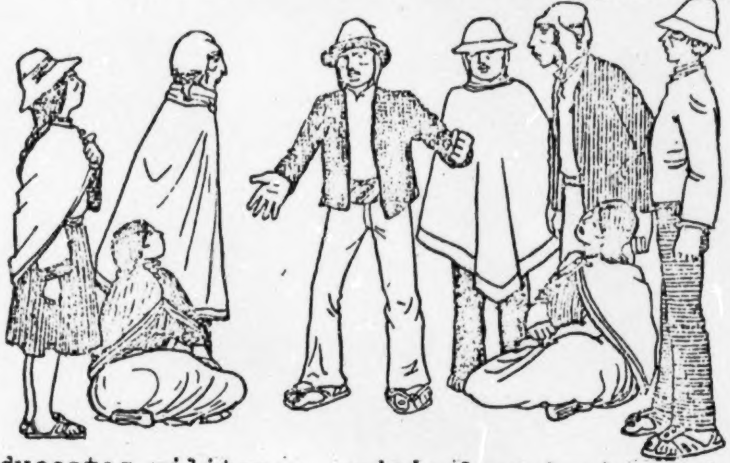
(Advocates new activist roles for women, also unity and protest in face of social conflict)

#2 - "She works in the kitchen and the corral. She cleans, washes, bakes. My good Maria!" (Non-CRE)



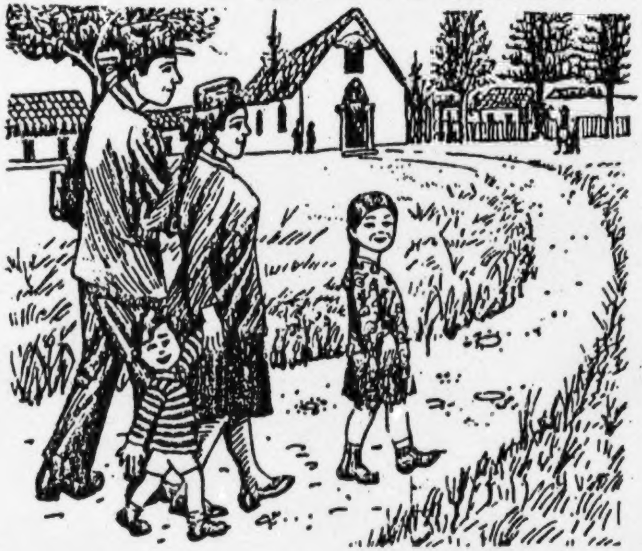
(Advocates traditional role for women; domestic functions part of harmonious rural existence)

#3 - "If we organize ourselves into a union, we will be able to defend our rights!" (CRE)



(Advocates militancy, critical analysis, and organization in struggle for justice)

#4 - "We work hard, are thrifty and humble. A good man is religious and honorable!" (Non-CRE)



(Advocates work ethic, moral uprightness, and personal religiosity in facing life and getting ahead) →

In the preceeding examples, the CRE materials are recognizable because of their "critical" political content. On the other hand, the Non-CRE materials reflect a "conservative" political position in relation to social change. In summary, there is a tendency for CRE materials to problematize the social world and advocate collective action to correct the unjust social situation. Non-CRE materials harmonize the social world and advocate individual change as a way of gaining access to the benefits of a society that is believed to offer something to everyone who is willing to persevere and act morally. Since many of the Bolivian materials analyzed are related to Church PEIs and global education institutions, religious themes and theological positions are quickly discovered. Liberationists who advocate CRE interpret the Gospel in terms of struggle with the social order, collective morality, and an active Christ who brings social salvation. Non-CRE Evangelicals interpret the Gospel in terms of peace with the social order, personal morality, and the passive Christ who brings individual salvation. Although conservatives advocate non-involvement or neutrality in their political commitment, their materials indirectly convey a political message. Finally, the content analysis reveals a "preachiness" on the part of both popular and global materials which relates to the theo-political orientations adopted by the NFE curriculum designers.

4. Means and Ends in CRE

The risks of employing CRE are numerous. In the promotion of horizontal relationships, dialogue, participation, and empowering processes, there is the risk of manipulation, coercion, and domination by PEI personnel. The key question in Bolivian CRE is how to maintain a creative, negotiated dialogue between the educators and the local participants, without dominating the process. Closely related to this, some PEI personnel engaged in CRE have been criticized for imposition of their own agenda and ideas, lack of cultural respect, or curtailment of local control. There is a conflict involved in using a non-directive educational methodology which runs the risk of losing sight of the agenda of advocating a liberating struggle. Are democratic processes secondary to the goal of ensuring that CRE content gets communicated? Do the ends of popular education justify the means?

Some adult educators would question whether greater collective consciousness and the organization of the popular sectors for social action are worth the effort if agents of change must resort to processes which compromise the criteria of non-manipulative and democratic relations. Peter Berger's criticism of Freirian methodologies makes this point strongly:

> Consciousness-raising is a project of higher-class individuals directed at a lower-class population. It is the latter, not the former, whose consciousness is to be raised. What is more, the consciousness at issue is the consciousness that the lower-class population has of its own situation. Thus a crucial assumption of the concept is that lower-class people do not understand their own situation, that they are in need of enlightment on the matter, and that this service can be provided by selected higher-class individuals. (1976: 123)

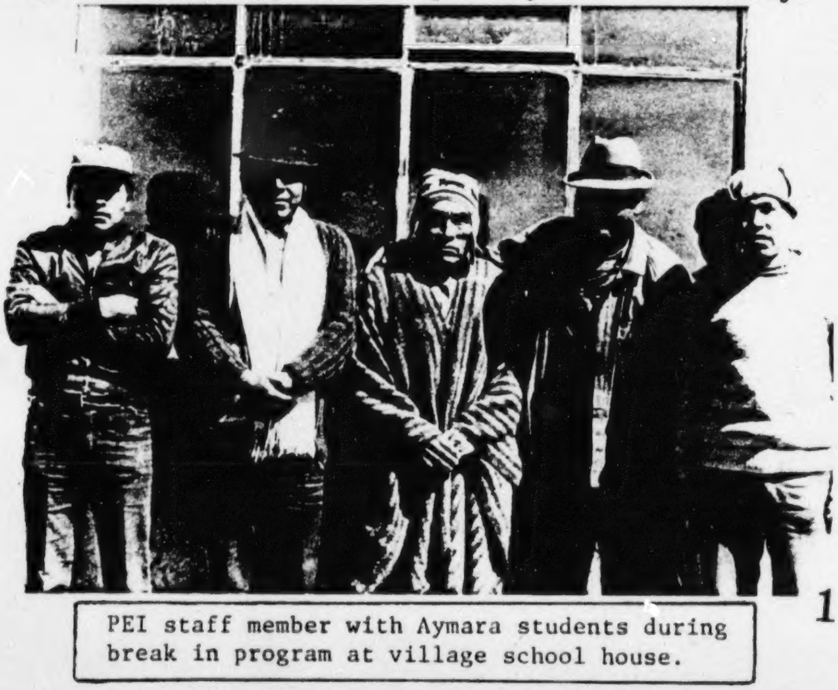
Goulet refutes Berger's criticism and defends the Freirian CRE process for its attention to respect, horizontal communication, and dialogue:

> His notion [Freire's], far from assuming that the leader's consciousness is higher than that of the masses, states on the contrary that the masses, because of their inhuman exploitation, have internalized the oppressive stereotypes of themselves which rulers perpetuate in society. Therefore, concientización is a process to help them rediscover the deeply buried sense of their own dignity, their own right to cognitive respect. (1975: 231)

Some observers of CRE programs argue that the peasant who has her (his) consciousness raised is as likely to become frustrated, as she (he) is to act. Without channels available for constructive action, frustration and resentment remain as highly questionable outcomes of CRE. Should it be considered wrong to raise people's expectations when little else can be achieved? Although the prevailing social structure is best served when peasants are left in ignorance, those who are made aware of their impotence by popular education are also clearly in a difficult position. La Belle adds:

> He [a peasant] may be psychologically prepared for an impending revolution, but in the meantime he has not been given any tools with which he can change his environment and he has not been informed of alternative channels to which he can direct his energies. (1976: 11)

Total reliance on revolutionary political action to quickly solve all problems is basically unrealistic in Bolivia, and PEIs are aware of the risks of advocating this utopian strategy when historical conditions are unfavorable to it. Most popular educators are aware that transformational goals could detract campesino attention away from micro-level goals and prevent them from dealing with practical problem situations. Proposing simplistic solutions to complex problems may cause rural people to avoid responsibility for taking action which will lead to incremental social change. Although recognizing the importance of CRE and radical macro-level change, Bolivian PEIs also recognize the danger of excessive system-blaming that results in inaction or leads to counter-productive activity. They understand that CRE must be a motivational force for planned, realistic action aimed at overcoming local injustice and oppression. PEIs do not generally leave peasant participants with illusions about an impending insurrection that will end all injustice and oppression quickly and decisively.



PEI staff member with Aymara students during break in program at village school house.

B. Concerns Regarding Evaluation and Impact Assessment

Trying to determine the impacts of PEPs on Bolivian peasant populations is a difficult task, certainly beyond the scope of the present investigation. In the brief discussion which follows, however, some methodological issues and problems related to impact and evaluation will be considered. There are several major areas which lend themselves to program evaluation, assuming that valid criteria of PEP success can be established. Changes in peasant participants and the society must be identifiable and attributable to PEI-sponsored programs in rural areas. It would seem logical for successful PEPs to generate data appropriate to any or all of the following evaluation categories:

1. Increased awareness and critical consciousness
2. Increased use of participatory, empowering processes
3. Increased pace of organizing, mobilizing, and acting
4. Increased evidence of mini-transformations locally
5. Increased evidence of macro-transformations

Each of these evaluation categories will be explained, some possible impact criteria suggested, and a cursory impact assessment of Bolivian PEPs attempted.

1. Awareness and Critical Consciousness - In this category, such perceptions and attitudinal states as a critical understanding of factors hindering development; expressions of solidarity, pride, self-esteem, and frustration; and, the propensity to think of alternatives to the present, constitute possible criteria of CRE program impact. Does CRE result in participants articulating perceptions of their marginality in relation to the dominant classes? Smith would recommend data collection around three existential questions: (1) Do people recognize and express clearly the problems they face? (naming); (2) Do people articulate why these problems exist? (reflecting); (3) Do people express ideas as to what can be done to change their situation? (acting possibility). What seems to be needed is a series of coding categories defined in specific behavioral terms to describe how Smith's (1976) questions are handled by campesino PEP beneficiaries.

Qualitative research (primarily by interviewing) would be helpful in determining if interventions are responsible for increased critical consciousness. It must be assumed in this research that verbally expressed attitudes are genuinely held by respondents. Some of the indicators of a greater awareness would include variables that reflect subjestive states and conditions. In order for social change to take place, some of the following conditions would likely be present:

- rejection of former isolation and inferiority
- indignation over powerlessness and lack of participation in society
- recognition of who is to blame for injustices
- feelings of power to act on own behalf
- statements of rights and dignities owed
- expression of need for collective organization
- ability to discuss social conditions critically

Finally, there is evidence to suggest that CRE programs have had a strong impact on the attitudes and perceptions of Bolivian peasants. The writer noticed many examples of clearly articulated naming and reflecting on the part of PEP participants. Campesinos seemed to be motivated and empowered by their new awareness, rather than immobiized or frustrated by it. As one peasant remarked, "We now see things differently and want to act to change this unjust pricing system!" There are examples of peasants analyzing and criticizing the administrative record of the military government. Many campesinos spoke authoritatively about insensitive regimes and corruption, and expressed the need for democratic alternatives and autonomous organizations of self-defense. A surprizingly large number of peasants used such sophisticated terms as "dependency" and "imperialism" and spoke convincingly about their rights in the nation. In one community, the men who had participated in a PEP boldly talked about their exploitation by a few ricos (rich people) and continued to study what this situation meant and how it might be confronted. Such evidence as this surely suggests some degree of impact of CRE on Bolivian participants.

2. Participatory, Empowering Processes - In this category, such processes as dialogue, participation, and horizontal relations would become part of community life as a result of successful PEPs. Do democratic processes characterize activities and village programs in a sustained way? Do adult educational processes facilitate problem solving? The use of andragogical methods gives some evidence that a new way of working with adults in rural settings contributes to their empowerment. The earlier analysis of empowerment speculated that rural participation, learner autonomy and collective self-help processes could be understood as a consequence of PEI interventions in rural Bolivia.

The issue of pedagogy vs. andragogy as the dominant learning process in PEPs is of importance to intended evaluations. At stake is the question of how adult students should be treated by educators. Although all PEIs advocate andragogical processes, there is a continual struggle on the part of many to convert the old pedagogical model to the new horizontal adult learning model. Included in this conversion is the issue of manipulation already discussed. Popular education rhetoric stresses that people should determine their learning needs and proceed to have these met on their own terms, with some PEI assistance. But, how often do PEIs set agendas and control learning for the peasant participants? From the present research, it can be concluded that there is a serious effort by PEIs to make the learner the subject (and not the object) of popular education. They try to avoid making the CRE process imposing and inhibiting for peasant participants. Freire's advice to cultural circle leaders is to seek, with the group, to deepen the analysis until the situation presented and studied as a problem, is criticized. Only the most skilled facilitators can accomplish this without indoctrination and manipulation.

How is peasant empowerment fostered when an individual's expectations of education do not necessarily coincide with those of popular educational planners? Impact is certainly lessened when learners are ignored, and increased when PEI staff work towards involving learners in the planning process. To evaluate PEPs as empowering, true horizontal relations are imperative. Kindervatter suggests that a shared planning model enhances participant empowerment:

> Learners themselves should determine a program's specific objectives and monitor their achievements. At the same time, planners can assess the higher-order objective of empowering. (1979: 239)

There is modest evidence to verify the impact of PEPs on peasant communities in terms of their on-going usage of participatory methodologies and empowering learning processes. The importance of democratic procedures at community and regional levels was demonstrated in many settings under observation. This suggests a strong role of PEIs in shaping the ways campesinos approach their own development. Also, the impact of empowering local leaders for facilitation roles in community social change projects seems to be demonstrated by the large number of promoters committed to working on participatory organizing efforts in Bolivian rural areas.

Street theatre is a common form of popular education in many parts of Latin America. This photo was taken in Cuzco, Peru. In Bolivia there was little activity in the street theatre area because of the fear of repression from armed para-military groups.

3. Organizing, Mobilizing, and Acting - In this category, successful PEPs will be expected to have an impact by increasing the frequency of activities related to collective attempts at social change. In addition, evidence of internal democracy, control from the bottom, and autonomous action in political and economic change projects would serve to confirm progress and PEP impact. Do villagers unite to take active roles in concrete projects, in response to the problems they are facing? Is collective identity forged in these organizing-action initiatives? Regardless of how successful the outcomes are, the existence of efforts aimed at confronting their problems actively can be seen as a consequence of PEPs.

The mobilization issue raises other questions about the consequences of involvement in basic educational programs. Do new participatory efforts originate inside the community? How much reliance is there on external support mechanisms? Can participation be transferred from the narrow PEP context to other organizational and action contexts? There seems to be some evidence of on-going organizing and acting. Also, it appears that occasionally projects will originate with local participants. There are, however, more examples of projects controlled and administrated by PEIs than by local communities. A large number of follow-up activities are characterized by the important influence of local monitors or promoters who occupy a middle decision-making position, helping turn the locus of power towards the beneficiaries. Since the goal of many PEIs is to strengthen existing peasant organizations, rather than create new ones, it would be interesting to determine to what extent this is being accomplished and how people trained in PEPs make the transition to active support of agrarian unions, co-operatives, and political pressure groups.

The many action-oriented PEPs themselves embody evidence of positive impact at the community level. Since practically all PEIs sponsor programs which promote co-operatives and unions, their influence on previously inactive or unorganized communities is readily apparent. There is some evidence to suggest that collective organizing and action becomes a continuous part of community life, once initial experience is gained in PEPs. However, it must also be recognized that an on-going relationship with PEIs is essential to stimulate new mobilization efforts in many cases. Collective action continues to be motivated from the outside, rather than strictly by local leaders and community participants. It can be concluded from this limited research that various forms of social mobilization are impacts linked to the spread of popular education in rural Bolivia.

4. Mini-Transformations - In this category, such quantitative indicators as income gains, productivity increases, and material improvements are important for determining program impact. Qualitative evidence might also be available to show how PEPs have contributed to the improvement of individual lives, families, and total rural communities. This is probably the most important area of PEP impact, but to date, indicators have not been well developed by evaluators, in Bolivia and elsewhere. Benefits to participants must be taken seriously by PEIs, not only because their goals demand this, but also because participants who do not experience tangible benefits will likely reject further involvement in PEPs and undermine the very existence or PEIs. The absence of reliable criteria for mini-transformations or local-level social changes makes PEP impact studies tenuous at best.

Despite a number of methodological problems, the many examples of reflection-cum-action leading to small changes in rural communities provide excellent raw material for further impact research. Skilled observers and interviewers could categorize much of the raw data for use in assessing how PEPs have affected individuals and communities. The IAF criteria (Kindervatter, 1979: 63) are useful in identifying the presence of mini-transformations. Advances in standing of campesinos will result as they gain greater control over forces which affect their lives. The Inter-America Foundation (IAF) indicators offer a preliminary range of social gain criteria to which qualitative data can be applied. The IAF indicators include the following eight evaluative categories:

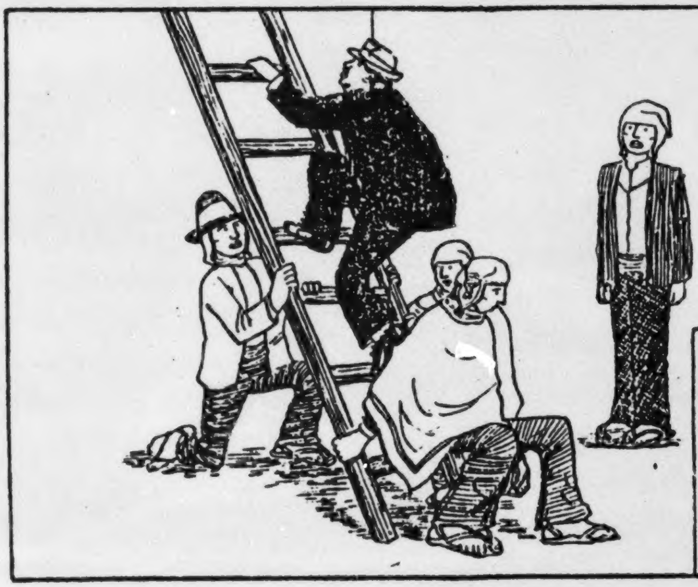
(1) Access - greater opportunities to obtain resources;
(2) Leverage - increase in collective bargaining strength;
(3) Choices - ability and opportunity to choose amongst options;
(4) Status - improved self-image, esteem, and positive sense of cultural identity;
(5) Critical Reflection Capability - using experience to accurately assess the potential merits of competing problem-solving options;
(6) Legitimation - people's demands considered by officials as just and reasonable;
(7) Discipline - self-imposed standards for working productively with others; and,
(8) Creative Perceptions - a more positive and innovative view of one's relationship to his(her) milieu.

It should be noted that evidence of mini-transformations which meet popular education goals must not only demonstrate that participants adapt better to their economic and psycho-cultural milieu, but that they also better control this milieu. One PEI staff person mentioned that his programs "helped campesinos become proud and independent", but could not precisely say what this meant in behavioral terms. Such programmers would be aided by specific criteria which their institutions or outside evaluators could use to verify impact claims. If PEPs attain some of the indicators outlined by the IAF, it can be inferred that improved lives and communities will also result. Still, the establishment of causal linkages between PEPs and mini-transformations remains a difficult task for evaluation researchers.

Finally, there is some evidence that PEPs in rural Bolivian communities have contributed to improved lives, but this is at present based more on subjective campesino opinions than objective data from reliable measurements. Baseline data is absent in most projects, thus making comparisons almost impossible over time. Moderate impact in the mini-transformation area is speculated from the presence of such phenomena as new physical infra-structure; trained health, educational, and agricultural practitioners; and, functioning social organizations and projects -- all of which have been put in motion by Bolivian PEIs.

5. Macro-structural Transformations - In this category, such indicators as increased economic decision-making powers, fairer marketing and pricing systems, implemented land reform, or gains in political rights in the larger national social structure are essential if impact of PEPs is to be acknowledged. It is realistic to conclude that PEPs will only have limited impact on such macro-level changes. The impacts of PEPs in the structural change area are difficult to assess partly because of the relative absence of such changes in the Bolivian society, and partly because popular education would only be one minor factor contributing to macro changes. The complexity of social change processes and the lack of openness to structural transformations under military regimes has meant that such outcomes represent a truly idealistic goal for PEIs to strive for. Nonetheless, it can be concluded that the hundreds of examples of PEI involvement in peasant communities together increase the potential for meaningful structural change to take place in the future and also bring PEIs closer to their vision of social justice and liberation.

One recent example gives the impression that macro-level change impacts are at least possible as a result of PEI interventions in rural Bolivia. The gradual politicization of the peasantry and their subsequent rejection of military rule (as discussed in other sections of this report) are connected to CRE efforts in the countryside over a period of years. Political mobilization in the form of rural voting and protest could have been partially responsible for effectively bringing an end to military rule in 1982. It also indicates that CRE will have a future role to play in mobilizing the largest sector of the Bolivian population as a political force with power to affect the society significantly. Radio broadcasts, psycho-social literacy programs, co-operative organizing campaigns, and even Bible study groups provide an alternative form of education which forges new awareness and changed attitudes. The impact of popular education, although not directly manifested in macro-structural change, is seen in the hundreds of small transformations which together increase the likelihood for deeper changes to take place as the prevailing social context is modified.



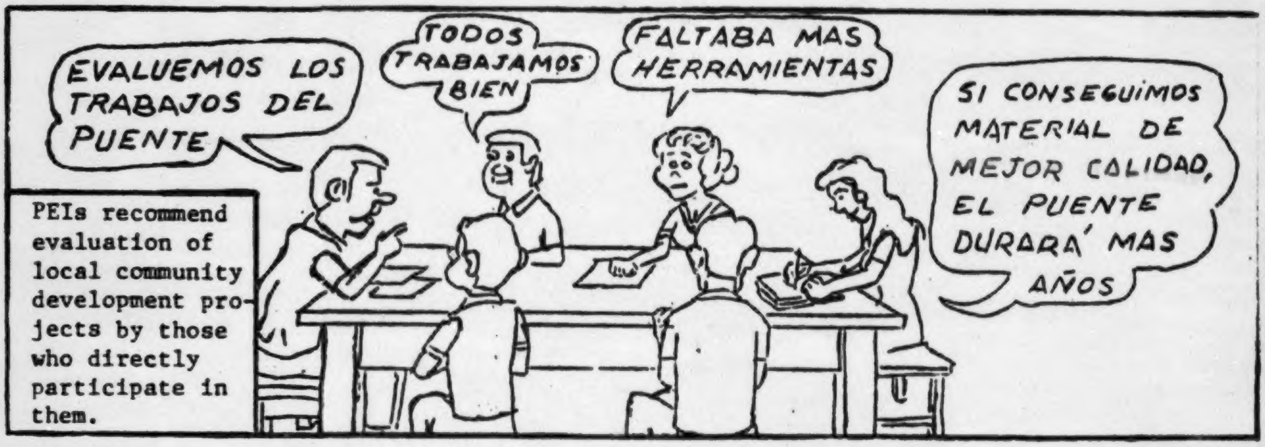
Popular education favors problem-posing and critical reflection on the social structure.

CIPCA

Concluding Discussion on Evaluation and Impact

Adelman notes that because of the nature of its objectives in the direction of social and political change, much of popular education tends to lie beyond the scope of critical evaluation. Many comparative educators are engaged in the development of qualitative indicators of mini-transformations which will help practitioners decide the worth of their programs in CRE. Arnove and Arboleda (1972) suggest that empowerment is present when certain outcomes are in evidence, as for example, when newly literate villages prepare and circulate petitions requesting local government officials to remedy grievances. Others suggest that successful CRE can best be verified when political actions by campesinos actually bring about changes and reforms. In any case, effective evaluation of CRE is not an easy matter.

Many PEIs operate on the assumption that their programs create "potential" for change to happen. Hence, they may not be overly concerned with finding a precise evaluation methodology. Success is based on speculation, rather than solid, measurable evidence. Many popular educators have faith that, when effectively developed, their programs will result in a new consciousness of the masses which will eventually be translated into dramatic examples of change from the bottom. To convey this hope, PEIs help adults develop competence, self-concepts, knowledge, values, and world views which Arnove notes, "enable them to understand the workings of the political system and learn to manipulate it to their advantage either individually or collectively" (1973: 189).


EVALUEMOS LOS TRABAJOS DEL PUENTE
TODOS TRABAJAMOS BIEN
FALTABA MAS HERRAMIENTAS
SI CONSEGUIMOS MATERIAL DE MEJOR CALIDAD, EL PUENTE DURARA' MAS AÑOS

PEIs recommend evaluation of local community development projects by those who directly participate in them.

Equipos Mobiles

Those who maintain that critical consciousness, participatory processes, organizational skills, and collective action are as critical as income gains and technical skills to the development of people, must continue to search for ways of measuring these competencies, of proving they are specific consequences of the popular educational process, and of demonstrating how these competencies are responsible for changes which affect Bolivian peasants positively. The challenge to educational researchers is to improve evaluation and impact assessment theory and methodologies to account for the changes taking place as a result of CRE efforts. Adelman makes the interesting point that at present it cannot be demonstrated conclusively that CRE has either succeeded or failed, or that its participants have either won or lost. He adds:

> Programs have been initiated throughout the Third World because the implications of the conflict model seem to suggest the application of consciousness raising techniques, not because such techniques are supported by empirical study. (1981: 99)

On-going research into Bolivian popular education would inevitably include the identification of micro-level indicators of social justice, economic equity, and political power gains. The employment of various forms of qualitative investigation, such as participatory research and evaluation, action research, and illuminative research, which emphasize the participation of peasants, will increase research potential considerably. Program participants have the greatest stake in the PEPs and can meaningfully be involved in planning and implementing impact studies in their own areas. Kassam, for example, advocates an "anthropocentric" approach involving the interpretation of reality exclusively in terms of the values and experiences of the popular education participants. Kassam recommends this method of research because it is,

> qualitative and humanistic, and epistemologically, it helps to make a more accurate reflection of social reality, for who would know best where and how the shoe pinches if not the wearer himself?
> (1977: 11)

In the evaluation of Third World educational projects, there is now a growing school of scholars and practitioners who favor qualitative methodologies for assessing the impacts of PEPs. Finally, there are some educators who feel that the search for indicators of program effectiveness and impact is being over-emphasized. Although important to researchers and educational planners, evaluation may be of dubious value to PEP participants. Postman's caution regarding unnecessary PEP evaluation should be recognized by educational researchers:

> We must not make too much of evaluation ... we must certainly avoid allowing our ideas about education to be controlled by our technical capacity to measure what we do. It shall be a sad day for all of us when we teach only those things for which there are easily discernable behavioral outcomes. In that case we will have given up trying to have our students know things and believe things. We will have given up talking about most of the things that distinguish human education from animal training. (1979: 230)

Khana

VIII. CONCLUSIONS: POSSIBILITIES and CONSTRAINTS

"Development as opposed to growth is likely when education is widely available, geared to or at least consistent with the immediate needs of production, yet embodying a vision of a better society in the future in which the benefits of growth will be widely diffused. Only when such rewards are seen as realizable can education be a force of social and economic mobilization."

B. Williamson

In Bolivia, the pace of social change has usually been determined by elite groups at the top, precluding participation from the bottom. It is because of this that popular education has become an important alternative institution in the search for authentic ways of mobilizing the poor for participatory activity in a society that excludes them. Generally, education can only be expected to play a limited role in social change. Because of the propensity of formal schooling to support the status quo, most comparative educators believe that education cannot be a lead agent in social change. Instead, it serves primarily to reinforce the existing socio-economic and political order. Is it then realistic to assume that popular education, when extricated from the formal school model and applied to large numbers of marginal adults, carries greater potential for change impact upon the prevailing order? It is safe to conclude that the potential for this to happen is only "slightly" increased.

The most powerful determinant of social development for the peasant masses is still the prevailing Bolivian economic-political context. Individuals are largely shaped by their experience of the opportunity structure, the resources and services available to them, and the mechanisms that exist for them to make claims on the society. As the Bolivian situation clearly shows, where popular education challenges the existing society, it often runs into opposition and may even be dealt with harshly. Therefore, PEIs may be compelled to adapt their more controversial programs to fit the political mood if they wish to exist. La Belle notes that the "survival" stance of certain PEIs is directly related to circumstances of constraint in the larger society.

> If an education or micro social change program goes beyond incremental change and adopts goals or methods which appear to threaten vested interests within the social structure, such programs must generally remain small so as not to attract attention from those who stand most to lose from the program's success.
> (1976: 19)

Kindervatter also concludes that the potential for social change is related less to the internal design of the popular education programs than to enabling and limiting conditions in the national context which either support or hinder movement towards radical change goals.

> In countries whose policies do not give priority to a more equitable sharing of power and resources, promoting such change is a difficult task. In the absence of sudden social upheaval, change can be encouraged to occur incrementally as people make some gains, though limited, through their own efforts. NFE as an empowering process can provide a framework for these collective pursuits.
> (1979: 253)

This raises certain questions about the relationship of the social system to PEIs. First, the privileged and respected status of the Catholic Church in Bolivian society is important in understanding the general degree of protection and tolerance granted to Church-sponsored PEIs. Many not only maintain their financial support and operating independence through Church sponsorship, but they also avoid extreme criticism and repression from conservative regimes in power. Martin (1972) points out that where radical voluntary associations like agrarian unions are prohibited, popular organizations tend to carry on their functions under the protection of "safe" institutions like the Church.

Second, PEIs will maintain a different stance under a liberal regime, somewhat in sympathy with their goals, than when faced with a conservative regime, hostile to empowerment and participation of the poor. In the former case, PEIs tend to become larger in size, increase their visibility and influence, and even cooperate with government programs. In the latter case, PEIs take a more low-profile approach and learn to expect small impacts, while remaining at war with the government which excludes them. In Bolivia, it will be interesting to see how the PEIs will choose to function under the new government which is pledged to moderate social reform and respect for human rights, after emerging from a difficult and insecure history of persecution under military regimes.

Although some of the obvious hostility against PEIs has now subsided, it is not possible to assume that the government's recent change will dramatically improve the conditions facing Bolivia's peasants. Therefore, the critical CRE function will not likely be softened because of a more sympathetic government. One well known labor leader recently summed up the position of the popular sectors in the face of the government's austerity program by announcing, "Empty stomachs cannot wait!" This suggests a continuing attitude of militancy which is sure to be reflected in popular education. It can also be speculated that the new regime will not overtly try to assist PEIs in their work. It is more likely that it will tolerate the work of radical PEIs, while monitoring them less closely than previous military regimes.

Given this situation, Green's observation regarding the options available to a Bolivian popular educator seems appropriate:

> He can support programs which allow a few of the illiterates to escape from poverty as individuals, at the price of weakening their class and communities. He can pursue programs which are verbally liberal and/or conservative social democratic, and hope they will generate forces for change ... Or he can press on with a full blooded program knowing that it will be accepted only if the decision takers misunderstand it, and that objectively he is seeking to create the conditions for radical change - i.e., is practicing sedition. (1976: 57)

If Bolivian popular education is interested in promoting political development, defined as the institutionalization of widespread opportunities for effective mass participation in decision-making, then its success depends very much on the possibilities and constraints of the prevailing political context. Reactionary military governments (especially from 1971 - 1982) have been unwilling to allow PEIs the space to operate freely. It is unlikely that PEIs will flourish if rooted in inhospitable terrain. With popular education programs conditioned by their existing socio-political environment, says Arnove, "they can be effective instruments for revolutionary change only to the extent that their milieu permits this type of change". (1973: 210)

Similarly, popular education programs which are viewed as threatening or embarrassing to many liberal regimes can be dealt with in more subtle ways that do not involve blatent repression. Writers like Kidd (1981) note that some government programs compete with PEPs to cut their influence. Government-motivated programs often use the rhetoric of participatory education, but in actuality favor top-down control. As Arnove and Arbolida tell us:

> Politically explosive programs are terminated or co-opted and domesticated by political authorities who also claim that they are engaged in conscientization - which is, of course, their own brand of consciousness-raising. What this means is that materials make vague references to land and work and poverty - but not to the structural causes and solutions to these problems. (1972: 407)

It can be hypothesized that Bolivian PEIs will take advantage of the present political opening to lay claim to social rights and economic benefits. CRE will be increased and a more active and offensive stance taken. PEIs can be expected to assume a higher profile, moving beyond the more low-key, therapeutic and survival stance of previous years under military dictatorships. As one popular educator remarked, "With the government change, it looks like business as usual for us". The previous PEI strategy of immediate problem solving, collective identity reinforcement, hope building, and technical training is sure to be maintained, although subordinated to a strategy of bold and active political advocacy.

Some PEI staff admit that the deteriorating Bolivian economy (under both military and civilian rule) has been a point of entry for CRE since "there isn't a person in the country who isn't upset by the economic crisis". It is possible that the motivation provided by this concrete need and the political opening will enable facilitators to deepen critical analysis and action among campesinos being hurt by the difficult situation. One educator remarked, "We must take advantage of the hardships created to strengthen base organizations and help campesinos make demands on the system". However, the question remains - can PEIs successfully impact campesino communities in the area of economic gains, given the constricted national economic framework? Just as the economic crisis may have enhanced motivation towards critical

CRE, so it might have reduced the options open to the poor for bargaining and making demands upon diminishing economic resources. For example, some PEIs are aware that falling agricultural prices have placed their trusted model of cooperative production and marketing in jeopardy during hard times. Although some adults may be more motivated to study in PEPs and learn why the economic crisis is affecting them, many others choose not to involve themselves in adult education because of less time, energy, and hope that it will be of some avail to their predicament. As one PEI staff person remarked: "You can't expect people to participate when they are starving!" Many peasants caught in the poverty trap defer education to their children, believing that this will have more positive payoffs than their own continuing learning. But now, as the crisis grows deeper, some rural parents are no longer able to afford to send even their children to schools because of the prohibitive costs. Perhaps this realization will lead them to engage in further reflection and the collective search for alternatives.

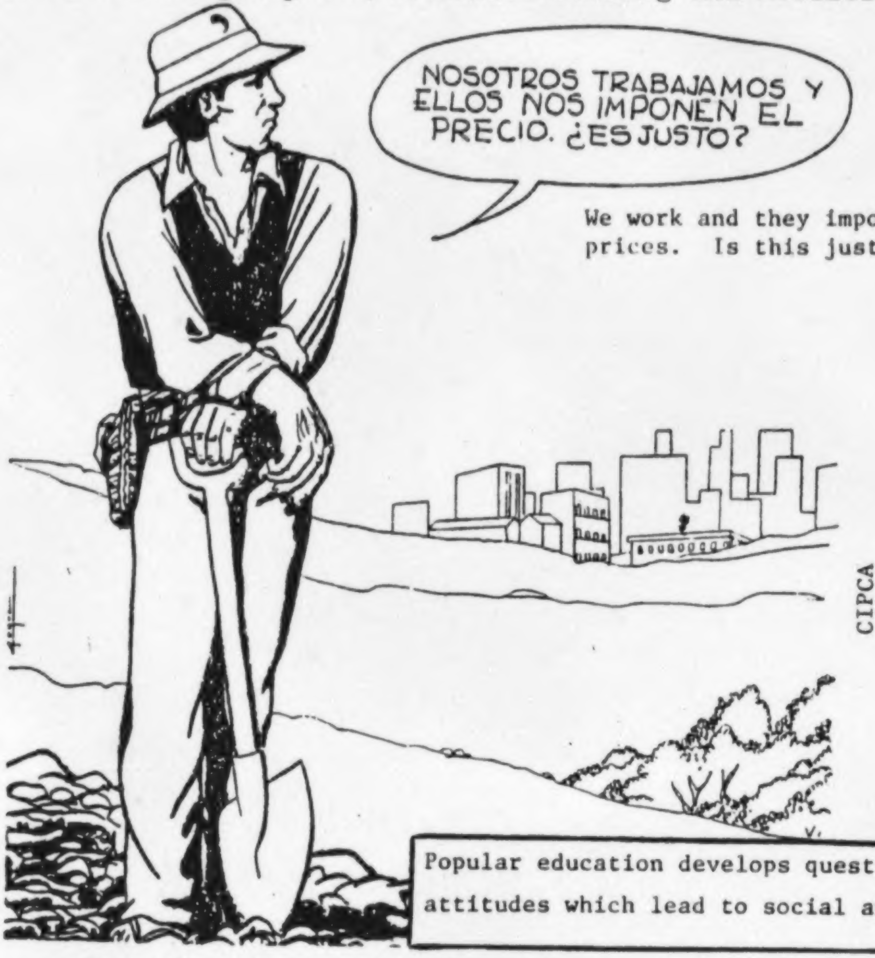
Bolivia is still a long ways away from the Nicaraguan case where a mobilization regime has joined with private PEIs to direct a national literacy and adult basic education campaign with a strong CRE dimension. The post-revolutionary political context in which Nicaragua finds itself gives CRE a completely different interpretation from that of pre-revolutionary Bolivia. CRE in Nicaragua reflects a positive government image, consolidating support for the regime; while in Bolivia, CRE reflects a negative government image, consolidating opposition against the regime in power. Cooperation and distance from government-sponsored adult education are thus a function of political loyalties.

It seems sensible to ask what will become of the critical function in CRE when PEIs join forces with government adult programs under both radical and reactionary regimes. In the Nicaraguan post-revolutionary situation, will a government designed, motivated, and operated CRE effort be any more critical than a Bolivian pre-revolutionary adult education program which entwines itself with a military government? CRE implies a certain freedom to openly criticize. The contradiction apparent in both cases is that the governments will do all they can to defend themselves from criticism and mobilize support for their own political cause. The key question remaining is whether the Nicaraguan cause is more just and worthy of support from the poor than the Bolivian cause. Evidence suggests that the Nicagaguan regime is more popular than any Bolivian military regime, having concretely demonstrated its commitment to the campesino's social development. The concern raised by Dore is that PEIs may lose their independence to foment critical thought, even under governments pledged to social justice:

> Not all political situations in the poor countries are such as to make critical awareness the first priority. The 'oppressors' of China, even, perhaps, of Cuba or Tanzania, may well be said to do a more efficient job than Brazilian landlords in keeping their people in a state of 'false consciousness'. But, it surely makes a difference that they are using their power to make their people richer and to share the wealth of society in a reasonably egalitarian manner. (1976: 136)

The decision by most PEIs to remain independent of government programs may have to do with the political history of Bolivia. Since the late 1960's, much of the military government's penetration of the rural areas with adult education programs and community development services has been regarded as an attempt to replace or undercut the influence of the militant agrarian union movement. Many political-economic analysts describe the plan as closely tied to U.S. interests and policies in the region. To protect their independence, some Bolivian PEIs chose to limit cooperation. The more radical social-change oriented PEIs eventually pulled back from cooperative ventures with various Bolivian governments entirely.

In Bolivia, popular education is still a fairly modest alternative movement. It has a proven capability of developing the self-concepts, competencies, and knowledge necessary for helping individuals and communities to participate in local development processes. But it has had less impact in helping peasants gain access to regional and national decision-making processes which in turn enables them to influence and alter existing social and political arrangements. However, the awakening of awareness of existing injustices and an awareness of new options by grassroots ethnic and social-class minorities is an essential first step to making claims on the Bolivian society. Agrarian unions, co-operatives, and action groups often dovetail with popular education programs. They continue to utilize participatory adult education methods to foster group consciousness-raising and mobilization.


NOSOTROS TRABAJAMOS Y ELLOS NOS IMPONEN EL PRECIO. ¿ES JUSTO?

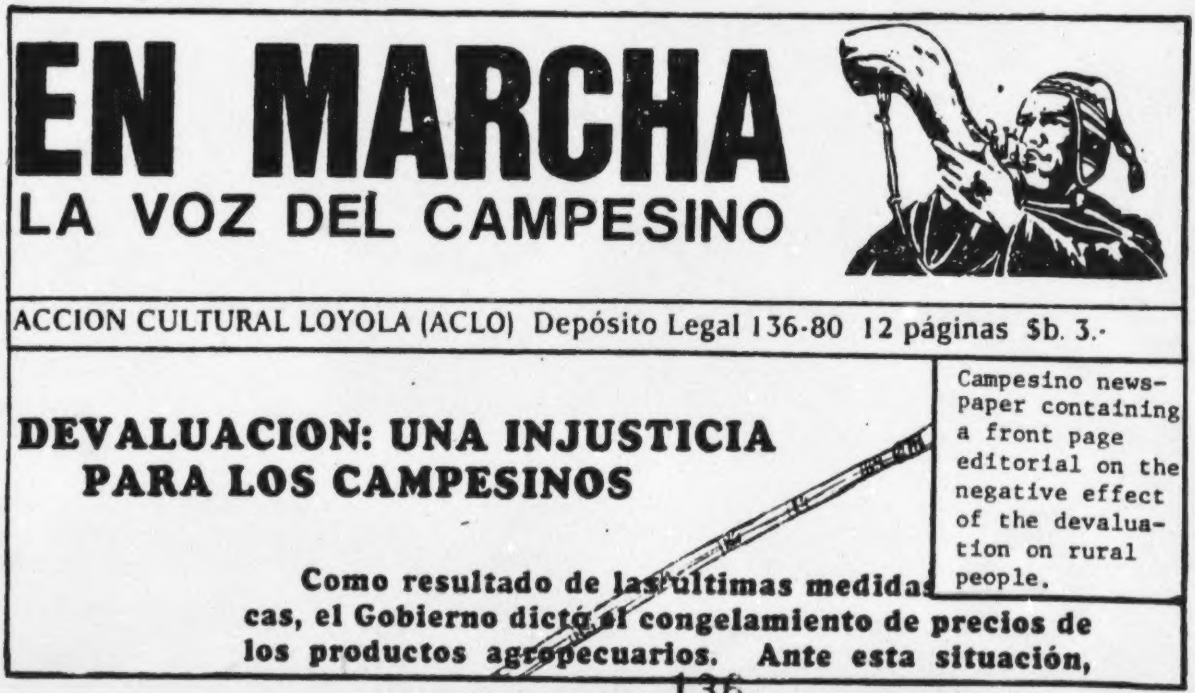
We work and they impose the prices. Is this just?

CIPCA

Popular education develops questioning attitudes which lead to social analysis.

Even though popular education in Bolivia may fall short of many of its ideals, it nonetheless has challenged the Bolivian peasantry to confront their problems by organizing and acting. The Bolivian experience shows that fatalism and helplessness can be overcome as peasants struggle and work to resolve the immense problems which affect them. The conventional belief is that exploited and impoverished people are so busy trying to survive and meet their minimum necessities of life that they are unwilling and unable to organize, act, and contribute to the solution of their own problems. There is also a belief that since illiterate peasants can do little to act on their own behalf, they depend exclusively on more wealthy, better-educated segments of the society to paternalistically care for their needs. This research has endeavoured to show that such beliefs are erroneous. PEIs help to refute stereotypes which regard peasants as passive, fatalistic, and helpless.

The popular education alternative in Bolivia is the experience of numerous collective, micro-level attempts to negotiate new identities for rural masses and challenge the highly unequal socio-economic structure. Efforts by Bolivian peasants to influence the authoritarian allocation of benefits and powers and gain political participation may well originate from popular education programs. Popular educators, by and large, are not content with human resource development and individual mobility promotion. The stark reality of hunger, poverty, and oppression is an omni-present incentive for CRE and a variety of innovative adult NFE programs. Popular educators work to empower people and mobilize them to control social, economic, or political forces, despite the dangers of being suppressed by a hostile power structure.



EN MARCHA

LA VOZ DEL CAMPESINO

ACCION CULTURAL LOYOLA (ACLO) Depósito Legal 136-80 12 páginas $b. 3.-

DEVALUACION: UNA INJUSTICIA PARA LOS CAMPESINOS

Como resultado de las últimas medidas
cas, el Gobierno dictó el congelamiento de precios de
los productos agropecuarios. Ante esta situación,

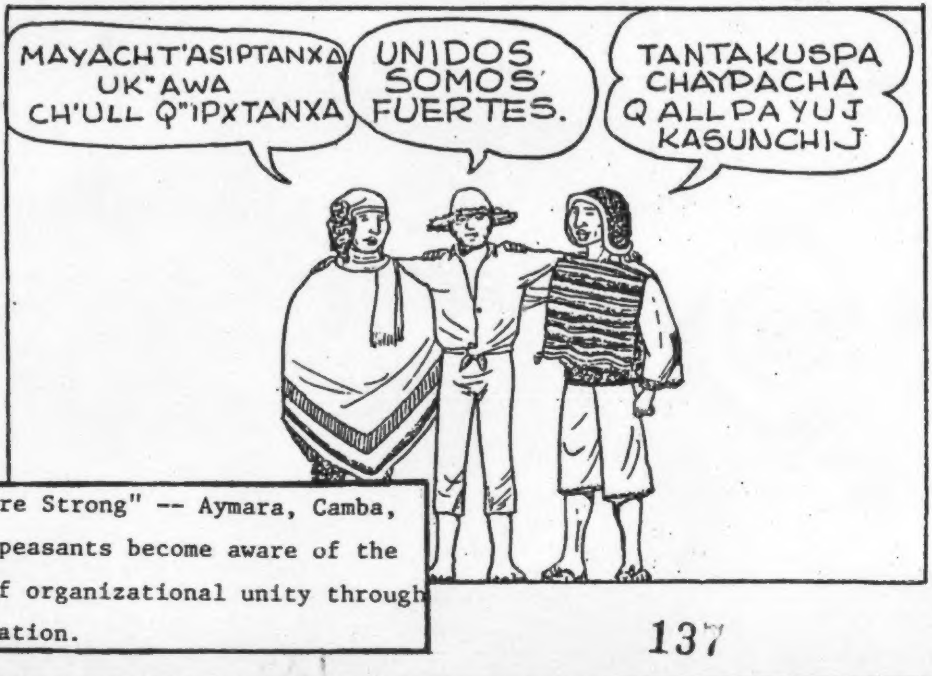
Campesino newspaper containing a front page editorial on the negative effect of the devaluation on rural people.

ACLO

To avoid isolation and to build strength, PEIs seek linkages with other like-minded groups which favor increased power for the poor outside the official capitalist frame of reference and conventional development model. In choosing independence from certain sponsors and funders, small adult PEIs realize that they are cutting themselves off from resources required to increase program impact. Instead, they choose to liaise with other popular organizations, such as co-operatives, political parties, and unions, to safeguard their alternative identity and remain true to social change objectives.

Popular education in Bolivia promotes solidarity among the Quechua and Aymara people. It is also a means of expression for oppressed groups of peasants, stimulating creativity and consciousness among them. Popular adult education seems to be related to the emergence of a new paradigm of development based on self-reliance and on the redistribution of resources between social groups, the urban and rural areas, regions, or nations. In the words of O'Sullivan-Ryan and Kaplun, the strategies of popular education in Latin America embody:

> a popular pedagogy, an education process that starts with an analysis of reality, rejects the ideology of the elite classes, and motivates the underprivileged population towards concentrated action for social change. (1981: 11)


MAYACHT'ASIPTANXA UK"AWA CH'ULL Q"IPXTANXA
UNIDOS SOMOS FUERTES.
TANTAKUSPA CHAYPACHA QALLPAYUJ KASUNCHIJ

CIPCA

"United We Are Strong" -- Aymara, Camba, and Quechua peasants become aware of the importance of organizational unity through popular education.

We have seen that popular education programs rest on certain value assumptions-- i.e., the equality of all persons, the right of all people to knowledge and power, and the responsibility of the poor to analyze their situation and act to change it. It is clear from the investigation into various PEIs that they have opted for educational means to reach the goal of social and political change. Postman's quotation acknowledges the underlying political role of **most forms of** education, including popular education in the Bolivian context:

> All educational practices are profoundly political in the sense that they are designed to produce one sort of human being rather than another -- which is to say, an educational system always proceeds from some model of what a human being ought to be like. In the broadest sense, a political ideology is a conglomerate of systems for promoting certain modes of thinking and behavior. (1979: 255)

Whether or not adult educational programs are the best vehicle to use for attaining social transformation is a question that cannot be simply answered. At present, Bolivian PEIs work towards developing social and political consciousness in rural areas of a poverty-stricken country, but at the same time they aim at successfully improving the literacy and skill levels of the peasantry. PEPs then, serve to assist campesinos in achieving political ends (changes in the social structure) and educational ends (better levels of knowledge and skill), with a clear priority towards the former task.

With the demise of the most repressive military dictatorship in Bolivian history in October 1982, the future for PEIs seems brighter. Nonetheless, it is probable that a conflictive posture, rather than a conciliatory one, will be maintained in the face of the new, more liberal regime. As long as liberationists regard institutionalized violence against Bolivia's poorest classes as the focal point of their political and educational activities, a critical perspective will continue to characterize their CRE work with peasants. Although PEIs now have considerably more freedom to manoeuvre in organizational and action areas, it is certain that they will be obliged to adjust their strategies to the constraints of the present social context, without expecting unrealistic outcomes and impacts. PEIs can be expected to make certain compromises with the political-economic order, while striving to be as effective as possible in the areas of skill transfer, community development, and leadership training. CRE and the mobilization of peasants at the grassroots level will most certainly be intensified if the civilian government allows rural empowerment processes to evolve and if the social system is prepared to accept peasant demands for more participation and benefits.

Bolivian popular education calls for the power of adult learning to be released in the service of the poor. It endeavours to provide a means of class articulation and expression to peasants and the working class. For this reason, advocates of popular education are concerned that CRE not be reduced to the trappings of an innocuous training technique, while the overall system remains untouched. As Paulston and Leroy have already reminded us,

> Formal schooling in conservative/liberal societies will no doubt continue to reproduce social and economic relations and minimize deviance, and so too will the vast majority of nonformal education programs. (1975: 595)

Popular education and other collective social class and ethnic efforts using alternative NFE programs, however, contain the seeds for the birth and development of structural change, characterized by greater equality of opportunity and social justice. Bolivian popular education attempts to facilitate collective struggle, the growth of awareness, and resource reallocation in a grossly inequitable society.

Finally, Bolivian popular educators have themselves learned that their programs are not a panacea for the poor. PEPs cannot be simplistically superimposed on a problem-ridden peasantry. Adams' description of Highlander Folk School in Tennessee provides an insight into the potentialities and limitations of all forms of liberating non-formal educational processes, including Bolivian popular adult education:

> Learn from the people and start education where they are: when people find themselves in a bind, they will usually try to figure a way out through social action; avoid indoctrination and discipline; seek to release the potential and energies of the poor -- not the relief of their problems. Highlander has never helped people "get adjusted" to poverty or to tolerate powerlessness. Highlander has found that no expert or book can deal with problems of poor people as effectively as the people themselves.
>
> (1975: 2)

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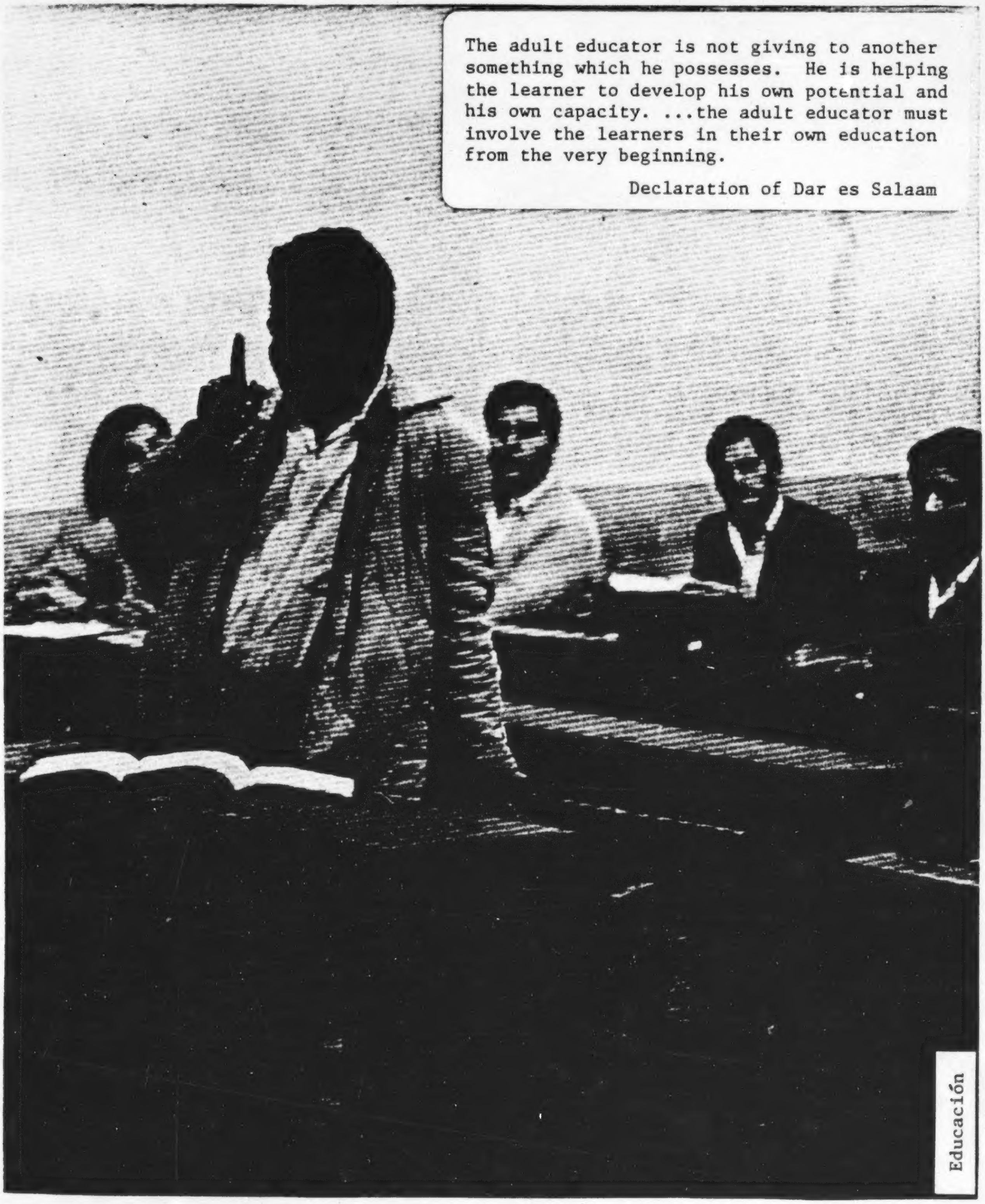
> The adult educator is not giving to another something which he possesses. He is helping the learner to develop his own potential and his own capacity. ...the adult educator must involve the learners in their own education from the very beginning.
>
> Declaration of Dar es Salaam



exigir, conquistar y vencer es indispensable organizar

CTUBRE

Recomendaciones técnicas del mes:

Agropecuaria: Siembra grande de papa.

Salud: La vacuna contra la parálisis infantil (Such'u) se da una

GO

LUNES

VI

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Cuarto Menguante
9

Sn. Remigio
Sta. Máxim

1939 - Busch, tergación del Control mineras.

3

Sn. Simón
Sta. Benedicta

1970 - El Gral. J.J. Torres, toma el gobierno.

10

12

Sn. Eduardo
Sn. Genaro

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Sn. Calixto
Sta. Fortunata

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Sta. Teresa
de Jesús

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Sn. Donato
Sta. María
Salomé

npe el L. Paz. ac Kacionali- Oil.

24

Sn. Crispín

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Sn.
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Sn. Narciso
Sta. Eusebia

31

1780 - Se producen sublevaciones indígenas en las comarcas de Chuquisaca.

El campesino pobre tendría que trabajar un siglo para alcanzar el ingr